THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE

DEATH OF GEORGE II.

BY DR. GOLDSMITH.

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CHAP. XVI.

HENRY IV.

NUMEROUS formalities are ſeldom uſed but to cover diſtruſt or injuſtice. Henry the Fourth, knowing the weakneſs of his title, was, at leaſt, determined to give his coronation all poſſible ſolemnity, and to make religion a cloak to cover his uſurpation. Accordingly, particular care was taken to procure a certain oil, ſaid to have been preſented by the Virgin Mary to Thomas Becket, during his exile. The phial that contained this precious balm had fallen into the hands of a hermit, who gave it to the duke of Lancaſter, aſſuring him, that all kings an- A.D. 1399.

ointed with that oil would become true champions of the church. On the preſent occaſion, being ſeiſed by Henry among the other jewels of Richard, he was anointed with it in all the forms; at the ſame time declaring, that he had aſcended the throne by the right of conqueſt, the reſignation of Richard in his favour, and as the moſt direct deſcendant of Henry the Third, king of England. Theſe were the formalities made uſe of to hide his ambition, or perhaps quiet his own fears; for the heir of the houſe of Mortimer, who had in the late reign been declared in parliament the true heir to the crown, was ſtill alive, though but a boy of ſeven years of age. Him Henry detained, together with his younger brother, in an honourable cuſtody, at Windſor caſtle.

But notwithſtanding theſe precautions for his ſecurity, Henry ſoon found that the throne of an uſurper is ever a bed of thorns. Such violent animoſities broke out among the barons, in the firſt ſeſſion of his parliament, that forty challenges were given and received, and forty gauntlets thrown down, as pledges of the ſincerity of their reſentment. But though theſe commotions were ſeemingly ſuppreſſed by his moderation for that time, yet they ſoon broke out into rebellion; and a conſpiracy was ſet on foot for ſeiſing Henry at Windſor, and replacing Richard on the throne, who was ſuppoſed to be yet alive. This plot was ſet on foot by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and lord Spenſer, whom Henry had degraded from ſuperior titles, conferred upon them by the late king. The particulars of their ſcheme were committed to writing, and each of the confederates had a copy ſigned by all the reſt. Among the number of theſe, the duke of Aumerle

was

was one, furniſhed with a paper, which he unfortunately dropt out of his boſom as he was ſitting one day at dinner with his father, the duke of York. The father perceiving ſomething fall, privately took it up, and to his great aſtoniſhment diſcovered the contents, which he reſolved, with all diligence, to diſcover to the king, and accordingly rode off with the utmoſt expedition to Windſor, where the court reſided at that juncture. In the mean time the ſon finding the ſad miſchance that had happened, and gueſſing the cauſe of his father's expedition, was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent his information; and haſtening by a ſhorter way, diſcovered the whole to the king, and obtained the royal pardon before his father could arrive, who coming ſoon after, produced the paper with the names of the conſpirators.

In the mean time, while Henry employed the moſt vigorous efforts to diſpel the riſing ſtorm, the conſpirators, finding their firſt intentions fruſtrated, dreſſed up one of the late king's ſervants, named Maudlin, in royal robes, giving out that he was the depoſed monarch, whom they had taken from his priſon, and were willing to replace on the throne. Pity is a paſſion for which the Engliſh have ever been remarkable; majeſty in diſtreſs was an object ſufficient at once to excite their loyalty and compaſſion; and they accordingly flocked in great numbers round the ſtandard of the conſpirators. Their army ſoon became conſiderable, and encamped near Cirenceſter, while the leaders took up their head quarters within the city; yet ſo careleſs or inexperienced were they, that they neglected to place proper guards at the gates and the avenues

of the place. This was quickly perceived by the mayor of the town, who was in the intereſts of the king: this magiſtrate aſſembling four hundred men in the night, ſecured the gates, ſo as to exclude the army encamped without, and then he attacked the chiefs within. The earls of Kent and Saliſbury were taken, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and beheaded on the ſpot by the mayor's order. The earl of Huntingdon, and lord Spenſer, eſcaped over the tops of the houſes into the camp, in hopes of ſtorming the town at the head of their forces; but they quickly had the mortification to find the tents and baggage abandoned by the ſoldiers, who, upon hearing the noiſe and tumult within, had concluded, that a party of the king's army had entered privately to ſtrengthen the townſmen; and under the conviction of this, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

The two lords perceiving that all hope was over, endeavoured to conceal themſelves ſeparately: but they were ſoon after taken, and loſt their heads upon a ſcaffold by the king's order. Their deaths were ſoon after followed by thoſe of ſir Thomas Blount, and ſir Benedict Sely; and when the quarters of theſe unhappy men were brought to London, no leſs than eighteen biſhops, and thirty-four mitred abbots, joined the populace, and met them with the moſt indecent marks of joy and exultation. In this ſhocking proceſſion was ſeen the earl of Rutland carrying the head of lord Spenſer, his brother in-law, in triumph, after having betrayed him. This miſcreant had been long enured to blood and treachery: he was inſtrumental in the murder of his uncle, the duke of Glouceſter, to pleaſe Richard; he

he ſoon after deſerted the fallen fortunes of that monarch and joined with Henry; not long after, he entered into a conſpiracy againſt this monarch, after having ſworn allegiance to him; and now, at laſt, betrayed thoſe very aſſociates whom he had ſeduced into this enterpriſe, carrying in triumph the marks of his execrable villanies.

But the ſuppreſſion of a ſingle rebellion was not ſufficient to give quiet to a kingdom threatened with foreign invaſions, and torn by inteſtine diſcontents. The king of France had actually raiſed a vaſt armament to invade England; but a truce was ſoon after concluded for eight and twenty years; and it was agreed, that queen Iſabel, who had been married to Richard, but whoſe marriage had never been conſummated, ſhould return to France, her native country. The Scots, ſhortly after, began to renew their ancient diſturbances; and while the Engliſh army marched northward to oppoſe their incurſions, the Welch, on the other ſide, under the conduct of Owen Glendour, attacked the kingdom upon the defenceleſs quarter. Many were the petty victories gained, and the ravages committed on either part in this conteſt. The name of Owen Glendour is reſpected among his countrymen to this very day; but as all his conqueſts procured no laſting advantage, and as all his victories only terminated in fame, they are ſcarce worth a place in the page of hiſtory. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that whatever honour the Engliſh loſt on the ſide of Wales, they gained an equivalent on that of Scotland; the Welch maintained their ground, although their chieftain, Glendour, was taken priſoner, while the

Scots ſtill fled before the Engliſh, and would neither ſubmit, nor yet give them battle.

A. D. 1402. It was in a ſkirmiſh between the Scots and the Engliſh, that Archibald, earl of Douglas, with many of the Scottiſh nobility, were taken priſoners by the earl of Northumberland, and carried to Alnwick caſtle. This ſucceſs was conſidered at firſt as of ſignal advantage, but it was ſoon attended with conſequences that were fatal to the victors. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl orders not to ranſom his priſoners, as he intended to detain them in order to increaſe his demands, in making peace with Scotland. This meſſage was highly reſented by the earl of Northumberland, who, by the laws of war that prevailed in that age, had a right to the ranſom of all ſuch as he had taken in battle. The command was ſtill more irkſome, as he conſidered the king as his debtor, both for ſecurity and his crown. Indeed, the obligations which Henry owed him were of a nature the moſt likely to produce ingratitude on the one ſide, and diſcontent on the other. The prince naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the ſubject thought himſelf entitled to every favour the crown had to beſtow. Not that but Henry had already conferred the higheſt honours upon him; he had made him conſtable of the kingdom, and given him ſeveral other employments; but nothing could ſatisfy this nobleman's ambition, while the king had any thing left to give. Accordingly, ſtung with this ſuppoſed injury, he reſolved to overturn a throne which he had the chief hand in eſtabliſhing. A ſcheme was laid, in which the Scots and Welch were to unite their

their forces, and to aſſiſt Northumberland in elevating Mortimer, as the true heir, to the crown of England. When all things were prepared for the intended inſurrection the earl had the mortification to find himſelf unable to lead on the troops, being ſeiſed with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick. But the want of his preſence was well ſupplied by his ſon Harry Percy, ſurnamed Hotſpur, who took the command of the troops, and marched them towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with thoſe of Glendour, who, ſome time before, had been exchanged from priſon, and had now advanced with his forces as far as Shropſhire. Upon the junction of theſe two armies, they publiſhed a manifeſto, which aggravated their real grievances, and invented more. In the mean time Henry, who had received no intelligence of their deſigns, was at firſt greatly ſurpriſed at the news of this rebellion. But fortune ſeemed to befriend him on this occaſion; he had a ſmall army in readineſs, which he had intended againſt the Scots, and knowing the importance of diſpatch againſt ſuch active enemies, he inſtantly hurried down to Shrewſbury, that he might give the rebels battle.

Upon the approach of the two armies, both ſides ſeemed willing to give a colour to their cauſe, by ſhowing a deſire of reconciliation; but when they came to open their mutual demands, the treaty was turned into abuſe and recrimination. On one ſide was objected rebellion and ingratitude; on the other, tyranny and uſurpation. The two armies were pretty nearly equal, each conſiſting of about twelve thouſand men; the animoſity on both ſides was inflamed

to the higheſt pitch; and no prudence nor military ſkill could determine on which ſide the victory might incline. Accordingly, a very bloody engagement enſued, in which the generals on both ſides exerted themſelves with great bravery. Henry was ſeen every where in the thickeſt of the fight; while his valiant ſon, who was afterwards the renowned conqueror of France, fought by his ſide, and, though wounded in the face by an arrow, ſtill kept the field, and performed aſtoniſhing acts of valour. On the other ſide, the daring Hotſpur ſupported that renown which he had acquired in ſo many bloody engagements, and every where ſought out the king as a noble object of his indignation. At laſt, however, his death, from an unknown hand, decided the victory; and the fortune of Henry once more prevailed. On that bloody day, it is ſaid that no leſs than two thouſand three hundred gentlemen were ſlain, and about ſix thouſand private men, of whom two thirds were of Hotſpur's army.

While this furious tranſaction was going forward, Northumberland, who was lately recovered from his indiſpoſition, was advancing with a body of troops to reinforce the army of the malcontents, and take upon him the command. But hearing by the way of his ſon's and his brother's misfortune, he diſmiſſed his troops, not daring to take the field with ſo ſmall a force, before an army ſuperior in number, and flushed with recent victory. The earl for a while attempted to find ſafety by flight, but at laſt being preſſed by his purſuers, and finding himſelf totally without reſource, he choſe rather to throw himſelf upon the king's mercy than lead a precarious and indigent

digent life in exile. Upon his appearing before Henry at York, he pretended that his ſole intention in arming was to meditate between the two parties; and this, though but a very weak apology, ſeemed to ſatisfy the king. Northumberland therefore received a pardon; Henry probably thinking that he was ſufficiently puniſhed by the loſs of his army, and the death of his favourite ſon.

But the extinction of one rebellion only ſeemed to give riſe to another. The archbiſhop of York, who had been promoted during the late reign, entered into a confederacy with the earl of Nottingham, and the earl of Northumberland, who had been ſo lately pardoned, to dethrone the king, and ſet young Mortimer in his place. Had the forces of theſe inſurgents cooperated with thoſe that were ſo lately overthrown, it is poſſible they might have overpowered any body of men which the king could bring into the field; but they began their operations juſt when their confederates were defeated. This powerful combination, however, took the field and publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they reproached Henry with uſurpation, tyranny, and murder; they required that the right line ſhould be reſtored, and all grievances redreſſed. The earl of Weſtmoreland, who had been ſent againſt them with a very inferior force, demanded a conference, to which they readily conſented. The chiefs, on each ſide, met at Skipton, near York, and in the preſence of both armies, entered upon the ſubject of their grievances and complaints. The archbiſhop loudly deplored the nation's injuries and his own; the earl of Shrewſbury not only allowed the juſtice of his remonſtrances,

ſtrances, but begged of him to propoſe the remedies. The archbiſhop entered upon many ſtipulations, and the earl granted them all. He now therefore entreated, that ſince they had nothing more to aſk or to fear, they would diſmiſs their forces, and truſt to his honour for the reſt. His ſpecious promiſes, and plauſible manners, led them to their ruin. The inſur-
A. D. 1405. gents immediately diſbanded their troops, while he gave private orders that his own army ſhould not diſperſe till farther notice; and thus having diſqualified them for defence, inſtantly ſeizing upon the archbiſhop and the earl of Northampton, he carried them to the king. The form of a trial was a very unneceſſary ceremony, to men whoſe fate was pre-determined; the archbiſhop of York was the firſt prelate who was capitally puniſhed in England, the earl of Nottingham ſhared the ſame fate, and the earl of Northumberland found ſafety by flying into Scotland; but he was ſlain a year or two after, in an incurſion, by ſir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire.

Such advantages ſeemed to promiſe the country, long torn with factions, and threatened with invaſions, ſome degree of repoſe; but a new calamity now began to appear, which, though ſmall in the beginning, became, in the courſe of ages, attended with moſt dreadful effects. Since Wickliffe had publiſhed his opinions, in the laſt reign, his doctrines met with ſo many partiſans, that the clergy began to tremble for their influence over the minds of the people. They therefore uſed all their intereſt to bring the king over to their party; who had more than once, in former times, declared himſelf in favour of the

new doctrines. But at preſent, as he was conſcious of the weakneſs of his title to the crown, he was reſolved to make uſe of every ſupport to confirm his pretenſions; and, among others, that offered him by the clergy was by no means to be thought ſlightly of. He ſeemed to liſten with great earneſtneſs to their complaints; and took an occaſion to direct his parliament to attend to the conſervation of the church, which he aſſerted was then in danger. How reluctant ſoever the houſe of commons might be to proſecute a ſect, whoſe crime at any rate was but error, the credit of the court and the cabals of the clergy at laſt obtained an act for the burning obſtinate heretics. This ſtatute was no ſooner paſt than the clergy reſolved to ſhow that it was not hung up as an empty terror, but that it would be urged with all the force of which it was capable. William Sawtre, a follower of Wickliffe, and rector of St. Oſithe's, London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury, and was ſoon after burned alive, by virtue of the king's writ, delivered to the lord-mayor of London. This was the firſt man that ſuffered death in England for the ſake of religion; but the fires once kindled were not likely to be ſoon extinguiſhed, as the clergy had the power of continuing the flame. They eaſily perceived, that a power of burning their enemies would revive that ſhare of temporal power which they had poſſeſſed ſome centuries before; and in this they were not miſtaken. They thus again renewed their priſtine authority, but upon very different grounds; for as in the Saxon times they fixed their power upon the affections, ſo they now founded it upon the terrors of the people.

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By theſe means Henry ſeemed to ſurmount all his troubles; and the calm, which was thus produced, was employed by him in endeavours to acquire popularity, which he had loſt by the ſeverities exerciſed during the preceding part
A.D. 1407 of his reign. For that reaſon, he often permitted the houſe of commons to aſſume powers which had not been uſually exerciſed by their predeceſſors. In the ſixth year of his reign, when they voted him the ſupplies, they appointed treaſurers of their own, to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended; and required them to deliver in their accounts to the houſe. They propoſed thirty very important articles for the government of the king's houſehold; and, on the whole, preſerved their privileges and freedom more entire, during his reign, than that of any of his predeceſſors. But while the king thus laboured, not without ſucceſs, to retrieve the reputation he had loſt, his ſon Henry, prince of Wales, ſeemed equally bent on incurring the public averſion. He became notorious for all kinds of debauchery; and ever choſe to be ſurrounded by a ſet of wretches, who took pride in committing the moſt illegal acts, with the prince at their head. The king was not a little mortified at this degeneracy in his eldeſt ſon, who ſeemed entirely forgetful of his ſtation, although he had already exhibited repeated proofs of his valour, conduct, and generoſity. Such were the exceſſes into which he ran, that one of his diſſolute companions having been brought to trial before ſir William Gaſcoigne, chief-juſtice of the king's bench, for ſome miſdemeanor, the prince was ſo exaſperated at the iſſue of the trial that he ſtruck the judge in open court. The venerable

nerable magiſtrate, who knew the reverence that was due to his ſtation, behaved with a dignity that became his office, and immediately ordered the prince to be committed to priſon. When this tranſaction was reported to the king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, he could not help exclaiming in a tranſport: "Happy "is the king that has a magiſtrate endowed "with courage to execute the laws upon ſuch "an offender; ſtill more happy, in having a "ſon willing to ſubmit to ſuch a chaſtiſement." This, in fact, is one of the firſt great inſtances we read in the Engliſh hiſtory, of a magiſtrate doing juſtice in oppoſition to power; ſince, upon many former occaſions, we find the judges only miniſters of royal caprice.

Henry, whoſe health had for ſome time been declining, did not long out-live this tranſaction. He was ſubject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his ſenſes; and which, at laſt, brought on the near approach of death, at Weſtminſter. As his conſtitution decayed, his fears of loſing the crown redoubled even to a childiſh anxiety. He could not be perſuaded to ſleep, unleſs the royal diadem were laid upon his pillow. He reſolved to take the croſs, and fight the cauſe of the pilgrims to Jeruſalem; and even imparted his deſigns to a great council, demanding their opinions relative to his intended journey: but his diſorder increaſing to a violent degree, he was obliged to lay aſide his ſcheme, and to prepare for a journey of much greater importance. In this ſituation, as he was one day in a violent paroxyſm, the prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away; but the king ſoon after recovering his

ſenſes,

ſenſes, and miſſing the crown, demanded what was become of it? Being informed that the prince of Wales had carried it off: "What! "ſaid the king, would he rob me of my right "before my death?" But the prince, juſt then entering the room, aſſured his father that he had no ſuch motives in what he had done, went and replaced the crown where he had found it, and having received his father's bleſſing, dutifully retired. The king was taken with his laſt fit while he was at his devotions before the ſhrine of St. Edward the Confeſſor, in Weſtminſter Abbey, and from thence he was carried to the Jeruſalem Chamber. When he had recovered from his ſwoon, perceiving himſelf in a ſtrange place, he deſired to know where he was, and if the apartment had any particular name: being informed that it was called the Jeruſalem Chamber, he ſaid, that he then perceived a prophecy was fulfilled, which declared that he ſhould die in Jeruſalem. Thus ſaying, and recommending his ſoul to his Maker, he ſoon after expired, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

If we conſider this monarch on one ſide of his character, he will appear an object worthy the higheſt applauſe; if on the other, of our warmeſt indignation. As a man, he was valiant, prudent, cool, and ſagacious. Theſe virtues adorned him in his private character; nor did his vices appear till ambition brought him within ſight of a throne: it was then that he was diſcovered to be unjuſt, cruel, gloomy, and tyrannical; and though his reign contributed much to the happineſs of his ſubjects, yet it was entirely

entirely deſtructive of his own. He was twice married: by his firſt wife, Mary de Bohun, he had four ſons, Henry, his ſucceſſor; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; Humphry, duke of Glouceſter: and two daughters. By his ſecond wife he had no iſſue.

CHAP.



CHAP XVII.

HENRY V.

A.D. 1413 THE death of Henry IV. gave the people but very little concern, as he had always governed them rather by their fears than their affections. But the rejoicings made for the ſucceſſion of his ſon, notwithſtanding his extravagancies, were manifeſt and ſincere. In the very height and madneſs of the revel, he would often give inſtances of the nobleſt diſpoſition; and, though he did not practiſe the virtues of temperance, he always ſhowed that he eſteemed them. But it was his courage which, in that martial age, chiefly won the people's affection and applauſe.

Courage and ſuperſtition then made up the whole ſyſtem of human duty; nor had the age any other idea of heroiſm, but what was the reſult of this combination.

The firſt ſteps taken by the young king confirmed all thoſe prepoſſeſſions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to follow his example; and thus diſmiſſed them from his preſence, allowing them a competency to ſubſiſt upon, till he ſaw them worthy of higher promotion. The faithful miniſters of his father, at firſt indeed, began to tremble for their former juſtice in the adminiſtration of their duty; but he ſoon eaſed them of their fears, by taking them into his friendſhip and confidence. Sir William Gaſcoigne, who thought himſelf the moſt obnoxious, met with praiſes inſtead of reproaches, and was exhorted to perſevere in the ſame rigorous and impartial execution of juſtice.

But Henry did not ſtop here; he ſhowed himſelf willing to correct, not only his own private errors, but thoſe of the former reign. He expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, and ordered his funeral obſequies to be performed with royal ſolemnity. He ſeemed ambitious to bury all party diſtinctions in oblivion; the good men of either party were only dear to him; and the bad vainly alleged their loyalty as an extenuation of their vices. The exhortations, as well as the example of the prince, gave encouragement to virtue; all parties were equally attached to ſo juſt a prince, and the defects of his title were forgot, amidſt the luſtre of his admirable qualities.

In this manner, the people ſeemed happy in their new king; but it is not in the power of man to raiſe himſelf entirely above the prejudices of the age in which he lives, or to correct thoſe abuſes which often employ the ſagacity of whole centuries to diſcover. The vices of the clergy had drawn upon them the contempt and deteſtation of the people; but they were reſolved to continue their ancient power, not by reforming themſelves, but by perſecuting thoſe who oppoſed them. The hereſy of Wickliffe, or Lollardiſm, as it was called, began to ſpread every day more and more, while it received a new luſtre from the protection and preaching of ſir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, who had been one of the king's domeſtics, and ſtood high in his favour. His character, both for civil and military excellence, pointed him out to Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of eccleſiaſtical vengeance; and he applied to the king for permiſſion to indict lord Cobham, as a miſcreant guilty of the moſt atrocious hereſy. But the generous nature of the prince was averſe to ſuch ſanguinary methods of converſion; and he reſolved firſt to try what effects the arts of reaſon and perſuaſion would produce upon this bold leader of his ſect. He accordingly deſired a private conference with lord Cobham; but he found that nobleman obſtinate in his opinions, and determined rather to part with life than what he believed upon conviction. The king finding him immoveable, gave him up to the fury of his enemies. Perſecution ever propagates thoſe errors which it aims at aboliſhing. The primate indicted lord Cobham; and, with the aſſiſtance of his ſuffragans, condemned him

as an heretic to be burnt alive. Cobham, however, eſcaping from the Tower, in which he was confined, the day before his execution, privately went among his party; and ſtimulating their zeal, led them up to London, to take a ſignal revenge of his enemies. But the king, appriſed of his intentions, ordered that the city gates ſhould be ſhut; and coming by night with his guards into St. Giles's fields, ſeiſed ſuch of the conſpirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of ſeveral parties that were haſtening to the appointed place. Some of theſe were executed, but the greater number pardoned. Cobham himſelf found means of eſcaping for that time; but he was taken about four years after; and never did the cruelty of man invent, or crimes draw down, ſuch torments as he was made to endure. He was hung up with a chain by the middle; and thus at a ſlow fire burned, or rather roaſted, alive.

Such ſpectacles as theſe muſt naturally excite the diſguſt of the people, not only againſt the clergy, but the government itſelf. Henry, to turn their minds from ſuch hideous ſcenes, reſolved to take the advantage of the troubles in which France was at that time engaged, and purſue the advice of his dying father, who gave it as his laſt inſtructions, that he ſhould employ his ſubjects in foreign expeditions, and thus give all the reſtleſs ſpirits occupation for their inquietude. Charles the Fifth, who was then king of France, was ſubject to frequent fits of lunacy, which totally diſqualified him from reigning. During the paroxyſms of his diſeaſe, the ambition of his vaſſals and courtiers had room for exertion; and they grew powerful from their

ſovereign's weakneſs. The adminiſtration of affairs was diſputed between his brother Lewis, duke of Orleans, and his couſin-german, John, duke of Burgundy. Iſabella, his queen, alſo had her party; and the king vainly attempted to ſecure one alſo in his favour. Each of theſe, as they happened to prevail, branded their captives with the name of traitors: and the gibbets were at once hung with the bodies of the accuſed and the accuſers. This, therefore, was thought by Henry a favourable opportunity to recover from France thoſe grants that had been formerly given up by treaty. But previouſly, to give his intended expedition the appearance of juſtice, he ſent over ambaſſadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of being put in poſſeſſion of all thoſe provinces which had been raviſhed from the Engliſh during the former reign, and of eſpouſing Catharine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, with a ſuitable dowry. Though the French court was at that time extremely averſe to war, yet the exorbitance of theſe demands could not be complied with; and Henry very probably made them in hopes of a denial. He aſſembled a great fleet and army at Southampton; and having allured all the military men of the kingdom to attend him, from the hopes of conqueſt, he put to ſea, and landed at Harfleur, at the head of an army of ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand foot, moſtly archers.

His firſt operations were upon Harfleur; which, being preſſed hard, promiſed at a certain day to ſurrender, unleſs relieved before that time. The day arriving, and the garriſon, unmindful of their engagement, ſtill reſolving to defend the place,

place, Henry ordered an aſſault to be made, took the town by ſtorm, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. From thence the victor advanced farther into the country, which had been already rendered deſolate by factions, and which he now totally laid waſte. Although the enemy made but a feeble reſiſtance, yet the climate ſeemed to fight againſt the Engliſh; a contagious dyſentery carrying off three parts of Henry's army. In ſuch a ſituation he had recourſe to an expedient common enough in that barbarous age to inſpire his troops with confidence in their general. He challenged the dauphin, who commanded in the French army, to ſingle combat, offering to ſtake his pretenſions on the event. This challenge, as might naturally be expected, was rejected; and the French, though diſagreeing internally, at laſt ſeemed to unite, at the appearance of the common danger. A numerous army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, was by this time aſſembled, under the command of count Albret; and was now placed to intercept Henry's weakened forces on their return. The Engliſh monarch, when it was too late, began to repent of his raſh inroad into a country, where diſeaſe, and a powerful army, every where threatened deſtruction; he therefore began to think of retiring into Calais. In this retreat, which was at once both painful and dangerous, Henry took every precaution to inſpire his troops with patience and perſeverance; and ſhowed them in his own perſon the brighteſt example of fortitude and reſignation. He was continually haraſſed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; and whenever he attempted to

paſs the river Somme, over which his march lay, he ſaw troops, on the other ſide, ready to oppoſe his paſſage. However, he was ſo fortunate as to ſeiſe by ſurpriſe a paſſage near St. Quintin, which had not been ſufficiently guarded: and there he ſafely carried over his army.

But the enemy was ſtill reſolved to intercept his retreat; and after he had paſſed the ſmall river of Tertrois at Blangi, he was ſurpriſed to obſerve from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincourt; and ſo poſted, that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his march, without coming to an engagement. No ſituation could be more unfavourable than that in which he then found himſelf. His army was waſted with diſeaſe; the ſoldiers ſpirits worn down with fatigue, deſtitute of proviſions, and diſcouraged by their retreat. Their whole body amounted but to nine thouſand men; and theſe were to ſuſtain the ſhock of an enemy near ten times their number, headed by expert generals, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. This diſparity, as it depreſſed the Engliſh, ſo it raiſed the courage of the French in proportion; and ſo confident were they of ſucceſs, that they began to treat for the ranſom of their priſoners. Henry, on the other hand, though ſenſible of his extreme danger, did not omit any circumſtance that could aſſiſt his ſituation. As the enemy were ſo much ſuperior, he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected, in that poſition, the attack of the enemy. The conſtable of France was at the head of one army; and Henry himſelf, with Edward duke of York, com-

manded the other. For a time both armies, as if afraid to begin, kept ſilently gazing at each other, neither being willing to break their ranks by making the onſet; which Henry perceiving, with a chearful countenance cried out, "My "friends, ſince they will not begin, it is ours to "ſet them the example; come on, and the "Bleſſed Trinity be our protection." Upon this, the whole army ſet forward with a ſhout, while the French ſtill continued to wait their approach with intrepidity. The Engliſh archers, who had long been famous for their great ſkill, firſt let fly a ſhower of arrows three feet long, which did great execution. The French cavalry advancing to repel theſe, two hundred bow-men, who lay till then concealed, riſing on a ſudden, let fly among them, and produced ſuch a confuſion, that the archers threw by their arrows, and ruſhing in, fell upon them ſword in hand. The French at firſt repulſed the aſſailants, who were enfeebled by diſeaſe; but they ſoon made up the defect by their valour; and reſolving to conquer or die, burſt in upon the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that the French were ſoon obliged to give way.

In the mean time a body of Engliſh horſe, which had been concealed in a neighbouring wood, ruſhing out, flanked the French infantry, and a general diſorder began to enſue. The firſt line of the enemy being routed, the ſecond line marched up to interrupt the progreſs of the victory. Henry, therefore, alighted from his horſe, preſented himſelf to the enemy with an undaunted countenance; and at the head of his men fought on foot, encouraging ſome, and aſſiſting others. Eighteen French cavaliers, who were

reſolved to kill him, or die in the attempt, ruſhing from the ranks together, advanced; and one of them ſtunned the king with a blow of his battle-axe. They then fell upon him in a body; and he was upon the point of ſinking under their blows, when David Gam, a valiant Welchman, aided by two of his countrymen, came up to the king's aſſiſtance, and ſoon turned the attention of the aſſailants from the king to themſelves, till at length being overpowered they fell dead at his feet. Henry had by this time recovered his ſenſes; and freſh troops advancing to his relief, the eighteen French cavaliers were ſlain: upon which he knighted the Welchmen, who had ſo valiantly fallen in his defence. The heat of the engagement ſtill increaſing, Henry's courage ſeemed alſo to increaſe, and the moſt dangerous ſituation was where he fought in perſon; his brother, who was ſtunned by a blow, fell at his feet; and while the king was piouſly endeavouring to ſuccour him, he received another blow himſelf, which threw him upon his knees. But he ſoon recovered; and leading on his troops with freſh ardour, they ran headlong upon the enemy; and put them into ſuch diſorder, that their leaders could never after bring them to the charge. The duke of Alençon, who commanded the ſecond line, ſeeing it fly, reſolved, by one deſperate ſtroke, to retrieve the fortune of the day, or fall in the attempt. Wherefore running up to Henry, and at the ſame time crying aloud, that he was the duke of Alençon, he diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, that it carried off part of the king's helmet; while, in the mean time, Henry, not having been able to ward off the blow, returned it by ſtriking the duke to the ground,

ground, and he was ſoon killed by the ſurrounding croud; all the king's efforts to ſave him proving ineffectual. In this manner, the French were overthrown in every part of the field; their number, being crowded into a very narrow ſpace, were incapable of either flying or making any reſiſtance; ſo that they covered the ground with heaps of ſlain. After all appearance of oppoſition was over, the Engliſh had leiſure to make priſoners; and having advanced with uninterrupted ſucceſs to the open plain, they there ſaw the remains of the French rear-guard, which ſtill maintained a ſhow of oppoſition. At the ſame time was heard an alarm from behind, which proceeded from a number of peaſants who had fallen upon the Engliſh baggage, and were putting thoſe who guarded it to the ſword. Henry, now ſeeing the enemy on all ſides of him, began to entertain apprehenſions from his priſoners, the number of whom exceded even that of his army. He thought it neceſſary, therefore, to iſſue general orders for putting them to death; but on the diſcovery of the certainty of his victory, he ſtopped the ſlaughter, and was ſtill able to ſave a great number. This ſeverity tarniſhed the glory which his victory would otherwiſe have acquired: but all the heroiſm of that age is tinctured with barbarity.

This battle was very fatal to France, from the number of princes and nobility ſlain, or taken priſoners. Among the number of the ſlain was the conſtable of France, the two brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, and the count de Morle. Among the priſoners were the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, with ſeveral others of inferior quality.

ty. An archbiſhop of Sens alſo periſhed fighting in this battle. The killed are computed on the whole to have amounted to ten thouſand men; and as the loſs fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended, that of theſe eight thouſand were gentlemen. The number of priſoners are computed at fourteen thouſand. All the Engliſh who were ſlain did not exceed forty, a number amazingly inconſiderable, if we compare the loſs with the victory.

A. D. 1415. Oct. 25. This victory, how great ſoever it might have been, was attended with no immediate effects. Henry did not interrupt his retreat a moment after the battle of Azincourt; but carried his priſoners to Calais, and from thence to England, where the parliament, dazzled with the ſplendour of his late victories, granted him new ſupplies, though unequal to the expenſes of a campaign. With theſe ſupplies, and new levies, he once more landed an army of twenty-five thouſand men in Normandy, and prepared to ſtrike a deciſive blow for the crown of France, to which the Engliſh monarchs had long made pretenſions. That wretched country was now in a moſt deplorable ſituation. The whole kingdom appeared as one vaſt theatre of crimes, murders, injuſtice, and devaſtation. The duke of Orleans was aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Burgundy, in his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. At the ſame time, the duke's ſon, deſirous of revenging his father's death, entered into a ſecret treaty with the Engliſh; and a league was immediately concluded at Arras, between Henry and the young duke of Burgundy, in which the king promiſed to revenge the murder of the late duke: and the ſon

A. D. 1417.

ſeemed to inſiſt upon no further ſtipulations. Henry, therefore, proceeded in his conqueſts, without much oppoſition from any quarter. Several towns and provinces ſubmitted on his approach; the city of Rouen was beſieged and taken; Pontoiſe and Giſors he ſoon became maſter of. He even threatened Paris by the terror of his power, and obliged the court to move to Troye. It was at this city that the duke of Burgundy, who had taken upon him the protection of the French king, met Henry, in order to ratify that treaty, which was formerly begun, and by which the crown of France was to be tranſferred to a ſtranger. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him paſſive in this remarkable treaty: and Henry dictated the terms throughout the whole negotiation. The principal articles of this treaty were that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine; that king Charles ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king for life; but that Henry ſhould be declared heir to the crown, and ſhould be intruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government; that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould ſtill retain their reſpective laws and privileges; that Henry ſhould unite his arms with thoſe of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, to depreſs and ſubdue the dauphin and his partiſans. Such was the tenor of a treaty, too repugnant to the real intereſts of both kingdoms to be of long duration; but the contending parties were too much blinded by their reſentments and jealouſies, to ſee that it is not in the power of princes to barter kingdoms, contrary to the real intereſts of the community.

It

It was not long after this treaty, that Henry married the princeſs Catharine; after which he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and took a formal poſſeſſion of that capital. There he obtained, from the eſtates of the kingdom a ratification of the late compact; and then turned his arms, with ſucceſs, againſt the adherents of the dauphin, who, in the mean time, wandered about a ſtranger in his own patrimony, and to his enemies ſucceſſes only oppoſed fruitleſs expoſtulations.

Henry's ſupplies were not provided in ſuch plenty, as to enable him to carry on the war without returning in perſon to prevail upon his parliament for freſh ſuccours; and upon his arrival in England, though he found his ſubjects highly pleaſed with the ſplendour of his conqueſts, yet they ſeemed ſomewhat doubtful as to the advantage of them. A treaty which in its conſequences was likely to transfer the ſeat of empire from England was not much reliſhed by the parliament. They, therefore, upon various pretences, refuſed him a ſupply equal to his exigencies or his demands; but he was reſolved on purſuing his ſchemes; and joining to the ſupplies granted at home, the contributions levied on the conquered provinces, he was able once more to aſſemble an army of twenty-eight thouſand men, and with theſe he landed ſafely at Calais.

In the mean time the dauphin, a prince of great prudence and activity, omitted no opportunity of repairing his ruined ſituation, and to take the advantage of Henry's abſence from France. He prevailed upon the regent of Scotland to ſend him a body of eight thouſand men from that kingdom;

kingdom; and with theſe and ſome few forces of his own, he attacked the duke of Clarence, who commanded the troops in Henry's abſence, and gained a complete victory.

This was the firſt action which turned the tide of ſucceſs againſt the Engliſh. But it was of ſhort duration, for Henry ſoon after appearing with a conſiderable army, the dauphin fled at his approach; while many of the places which held out for the dauphin, in the neighbourhood of Paris, ſurrendered to the conqueror. In this manner, while Henry was every where victorious, he fixed his reſidence at Paris; and while Charles had but a ſmall court, he was attended with a very magnificent one. On Whitſunday the two kings A.D. 1422. and their two queens, with crowns on their heads, dined together in public; Charles receiving apparent homage, but Henry commanding with abſolute authority.

In the mean time, the dauphin was chaſed beyond the Loire, and almoſt totally diſpoſſeſſed of all the northern provinces. He was even purſued into the ſouth, by the united arms of the Engliſh and Burgundians, and threatened with total deſtruction. In this exigence, he found it neceſſary to ſpin out the war, and to evade all hazardous actions with a rival who had been long accuſtomed to victory. His prudence was every where remarkable; and, after a train of long perſecutions from fortune he found her at length willing to declare in his favour, by ridding him of an antagoniſt that was likely to become a maſter.

Henry, at a time when his glory had nearly reached its ſummit, and both crowns were juſt devolved upon him, was ſeiſed with a fiſtula; a diſ-

diſorder which, from the unſkilfulneſs of the phyſicians of the times, ſoon became mortal. Perceiving his diſtemper incurable, and that his end was approaching, he ſent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few other noblemen, whom he had honoured with his confidence; and to them he delivered, in great tranquillity, his laſt will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He recommended his ſon to their protection; and though he regretted the being unable to accompliſh the great object of his ambition, in totally ſubduing France, yet he expreſſed great indifference at the approach of death; he devoutly waited its arrival, and expired with the ſame intrepidity with which he had lived, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign.

This prince poſſeſſed many virtues, but his military ſucceſſes gave him credit for more than he really poſſeſſed. It is certain, however, that he had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by addreſs and clemency. Yet his reign was rather ſplendid than profitable; the treaſures of the nation were laviſhed on conqueſts that, even though they could have been maintained, would have proved injurious to the nation. Nevertheleſs he died fortunate, by falling in the midſt of his triumphs, and leaving his ſubjects in the very height of his reputaton. Charles, who died two months after him, finiſhed a wretched reign long paſſed in frenzy and contempt, deſpiſed by his friends, inſulted by his allies, and leaving the moſt miſerable ſubjects upon earth.

Henry

Henry left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one ſon, not full nine months old, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and whoſe misfortunes, during the courſe of a long reign, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father.

The Engliſh triumphs, at this time, in France, produced ſcarce any good effects at home; as they grew warlike they became ſavage, and panting after foreign poſſeſſions, forgot the arts of cultivating thoſe that lay nearer home. Our language, inſtead of improving, was more neglected than before; Langland and Chaucer had begun to poliſh it, and enrich it with new and elegant conſtructions; but it now was ſeen to relapſe into its former rudeneſs, and no poet or hiſtorian of note was born in this tempeſtuous period.

CHAP.



CHAP. XVIII.

HENRY VI.

HENRY VI. ſucceſſor to Henry V. was not quite a year old when he came to the throne; and his relations began, ſoon after, to diſpute the adminiſtration of government during his minority. The duke of Bedford, one of the moſt accompliſhed princes of the age, and equally experienced, both in the cabinet and the field, was
A. D. 1422. appointed by parliament protector of England, defender of the church, and firſt counſellor to the king. His brother, the duke of Glouceſter, was fixed upon to govern in his abſence, while he conducted the war in France; and, in order to

to limit the power of both brothers, a council was named, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be carried into execution.

Things being adjusted in this manner, as the conduct of military operations was at that time considered in a much superior light to civil employments at home, the duke of Bedford fixed his station in France, to prosecute the successes of the English in that part of their dominions, and to repress the attempts of Charles VII. who succeeded his father to a nominal throne. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation of that monarch on assuming his title to the crown. The English were masters of almost all A D 1423. France; and Henry VI. though yet but an infant, was solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army, in the heart of the kingdom, ready to oppose every insurrection; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, still remained stedfast, and seconded his claims. Yet, notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, Charles (who, though yet but twenty, united the prudence of age with the affability of youth) found means to break the leagues formed against him, and to bring back his subjects to their natural interests and their duty.

However, his first attempts were totally destitute of success, wherever he endeavoured to face the enemy, he was overthrown; and he could scarcely rely on the friends next his person. His authority was insulted even by his own servants; advantage after advantage was gained against him; and a battle fought near Verneuil, in which he

totally defeated by the duke of Bedford, seemed to render his affairs wholly desperate. However, from the impossibility of the English keeping the field without new supplies, Bedford was obliged to retire into England, and in the mean time his vigilant enemy began to recover from his late consternation. Dunois, one of his generals, at the head of a thousand men, compelled the earl of Warwick to raise the siege of Montargis; and this advantage, slight as it was, began to make the French suppose that the English were not invincible.

But they had still greater reason to triumph in their change of fortune, and a new revolution was produced by means apparently the most unlikely to be attended with success. The assistance of a female, of the humblest birth and meanest education, served to turn the tide of victory in their favour, and impress their enemies with those terrors, which had hitherto rendered them unequal in the field. By this feeble aid, the vanquished became the victors; and the English, every where worsted, were at length totally expelled the kingdom.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl, about twenty-seven years of age, called Joan of Arc. This girl had been a servant at a small inn; and in that humble station had submitted to those hardy employments which fit the body for the fatigues of war. She was of an irreproachable life, and had hitherto testified none of those enterprising qualities which displayed themselves soon after. She contentedly fulfilled the duties of her situation, and was remarkable only for her modesty, and love of religion.

ligion. But the miſeries of her country ſeemed to have been one of the greateſt objects of her compaſſion and regard. Her king expelled his native throne, her country laid in blood, and ſtrangers executing unnumbered rapines before her eyes, were ſufficient to excite her reſentment, and to warm her heart with a deſire of redreſs. Her mind, enflamed by theſe objects, and brooding with melancholy reflections upon them, began to feel ſeveral impulſes, which ſhe was willing to miſtake for the inſpirations of heaven. Convinced of the reality of her own admonitions, ſhe had recourſe to Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and informed him of her deſtination by heaven, to free her native country from its fierce invaders. Baudricourt treated her at firſt with ſome neglect; but her importunities at length prevailed; and, willing to make a trial of her pretenſions, he gave her ſome attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time reſided at Chinon.

The French court were probably ſenſible of the weakneſs of her pretenſions; but they were willing to make uſe of every artifice to ſupport their declining fortunes. It was therefore given out, that Joan was actually inſpired; that ſhe was able to diſcover the king among the number of his courtiers, although he had laid aſide all the diſtinctions of his authority; that ſhe had told him ſuch ſecrets, which were only known to himſelf, and that ſhe had demanded, and minutely deſcribed, a ſword in the church of St Catharine de Fierbois, which ſhe had never ſeen. In this manner the minds of the vulgar being prepared for her appearance, ſhe was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on a charger, and

ſhown in that martial dreſs to the people. She was then brought before the doctors of the univerſity; and they, tinctured with the credulity of the times, or willing to ſecond the impoſture, declared that ſhe had actually received her commiſſion from above.

When the preparations for her miſſion were completely blaſoned, their next aim was to ſend her againſt the enemy. The Engliſh were at that time beſieging the city of Orleans, the laſt reſource of Charles, and every thing promiſed them a ſpeedy ſurrender. Joan undertook to raiſe the ſiege; and, to render herſelf ſtill more remarkable, girded herſelf with the miraculous ſword, of which ſhe had before ſuch extraordinary notices. Thus equipped, ſhe ordered all the ſoldiers to confeſs themſelves before they ſet out; ſhe diſplayed in her hand a conſecrated banner, and aſſured the troops of certain ſucceſs. Such confidence on her ſide ſoon raiſed the ſpirits of the French army; and even the Engliſh, who pretended to deſpiſe her efforts, felt themſelves ſecretly influenced with the terrors of her miſſion. A ſupply of proviſions was to be conveyed into the town; Joan, at the head of ſome French troops, covered the embarkation, and entered Orleans at the head of the convoy, which ſhe had ſafely protected. While ſhe was leading her troops along, a dead ſilence and aſtoniſhment reigned among the Engliſh; and they regarded with religious awe that temerity, which they thought nothing but ſupernatural aſſiſtance could inſpire. But they were ſoon roufed from their ſtate of amazement by a ſally from the town; Joan led on the beſieged, bearing the ſacred ſtandard in her hand, encouraging them with her words

and actions, bringing them up to the trenches, and overpowering the beſiegers in their own redoubts. In the attack of one of the forts, ſhe was wounded in the neck with an arrow; but inſtantly pulling out the weapon with her own hands, and getting the wound quickly dreſſed, ſhe haſtened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. Theſe ſucceſſes continuing, the Engliſh found that it was impoſſible to reſiſt troops animated by ſuch ſuperior energy; and Suffolk, who conducted the attack, thinking that it might prove extremely dangerous to remain any longer in the preſence of ſuch a courageous and victorious enemy, raiſed the ſiege, and retreated with all imaginable precaution.

From being attacked, the French now in turn became the aggreſſors. Charles formed a body of ſix thouſand men, and ſent them to beſiege Jergeau, whither the Engliſh, commanded by the earl of Suffolk, had retired, with a detachment of his army. The city was taken; Suffolk yielded himſelf a priſoner; and Joan marched into the place in triumph, at the head of the army. A battle was ſoon after fought near Patay, where the Engliſh were worſted as before, and the generals, Scales and Talbot, were taken priſoners.

The raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promiſe to the king of France, the crowning him at Rheims was the other. She now declared that it was time to complete that ceremony; and Charles, in purſuance of her advice, ſet out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thouſand men. The towns through which he paſſed opened their gates to receive him; and Rheims ſent him a deputation, with its keys,

upon his approach. The ceremony of his coronation was there performed with the utmoſt ſolemnity; and the Maid of Orleans (for ſo ſhe was now called), ſeeing the completion of her miſſion, deſired leave to retire, alleging that ſhe had now accompliſhed the end of her calling. But her ſervices had been ſo great, that the king could not think of parting; he preſſed her to ſtay ſo earneſtly, that ſhe at length complied with his requeſt.

A tide of ſucceſſes followed the performance of this ſolemnity; Laon, Soiſſons, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, and many other towns and fortreſſes in that neighbourhood, ſubmitted to him on the firſt ſummons. On the other hand the Engliſh, diſcomfited and diſpirited, fled on every quarter, unknowing whether to aſcribe their misfortunes to the power of ſorcery, or to a celeſtial influence, but equally terrified at either. They now found themſelves deprived of the conqueſts they had gained, in the ſame manner as the French had formerly ſubmitted to their power. Their own diviſions, both abroad and at home, unfitted them entirely for carrying on the war; and the duke of Bedford, notwithſtanding all his prudence, ſaw himſelf diveſted of his ſtrong holds in the country, without being able to ſtop the enemies' progreſs. In order, therefore, to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs, he reſolved to have Henry crowned king at Paris, knowing that the natives would be allured to obedience by the ſplendour of the ceremony. Henry was accordingly crowned, all the vaſſals that ſtill continued under the Engliſh power ſwearing fealty and homage. But it was now too late for the ceremonies of a coronation to

A.D. 1430.

give

give a turn to the affairs of the Engliſh; the generality of the kingdom had declared againſt them; and the remainder only waited a convenient opportunity to follow the example.

An accident enſued ſoon after, which, though it promiſed to promote the Engliſh cauſe in France, in the end ſerved to render it odious, and conduced to the total evacuation of that country. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a powerful army had laid ſiege to Compiegne; and the Maid of Orleans had thrown herſelf into the place, contrary to the wiſhes of the governor, who did not deſire the company of one whoſe authority would be greater than his own. The garriſon, however, were rejoiced at her appearance, and believed themſelves invincible under her protection. But their joy was of ſhort duration, for Joan having, the day after her arrival, headed a ſally, and twice driven the enemy from their entrenchments, ſhe was at laſt obliged to retire, placing herſelf in the rear, to protect the retreat of her forces. But, in the end, attempting to follow her troops into the city, ſhe found the gates ſhut, and the bridge drawn up by order of the governor, who is ſaid to have long wiſhed for an opportunity of delivering her up to the enemy.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the beſiegers, in having taken a perſon who had been ſo long a terror to their arms. The ſervice of Te Deum was publicly celebrated on this occaſion; and it was hoped that the capture of this extraordinary perſon would reſtore the Engliſh to their former victories and ſucceſſes. The duke of Bedford was no ſooner informed of her being taken, than he purchaſed her of the count Vendome who had

made him his priſoner, and ordered her to be confined to cloſe confinement. The credulity of both nations was at that time ſo great, that nothing was too abſurd to gain belief, that co-incided with their paſſions. As Joan but a little before, from her ſucceſſes, was regarded as a ſaint, ſhe was now, upon her captivity, conſidered as a ſorcereſs, forſaken by the dæmon who had granted her a fallacious and temporary aſſiſtance. Accordingly it was reſolved in council to ſend her to Rouen to be tried for witchcraft; and the biſhop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the Engliſh intereſt, preſented a petition againſt her for that purpoſe. The univerſity of Paris was ſo mean as to join in the ſame requeſt. Several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Wincheſter was the only Engliſhman, were appointed as her judges. They held their court in Rouen, where Henry then reſided; and the Maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal. Her behaviour there no way diſgraced her former gallantry; ſhe betrayed neither weakneſs, nor womaniſh ſubmiſſion, but appealed to God and the pope for the truth of her former revelations. In the iſſue, ſhe was found guilty of hereſy and witchcraft, and ſentenced to be burnt alive, the common puniſhment for ſuch offences.

But, previous to the infliction of this dreadful ſentence upon her, they were reſolved to make her abjure her former errors; and at length ſo far prevailed upon her, by terror and rigorous treatment, that her ſpirits were entirely broken by the hardſhips ſhe was obliged to ſuffer. Her former viſionary dreams began to vaniſh, and a gloomy

gloomy diſtruſt to take place of her late inſpirations. She publicly declared herſelf willing to recant, and promiſed never more to give way to the vain deluſions which had hitherto miſled her and impoſed on the people. This was what her oppreſſors deſired; and, willing to ſhow ſome appearance of mercy, they changed her ſentence into perpetual impriſonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water. But the rage of her enemies was not yet ſatiated. Perfectly ſatisfied of her guilt, they were willing to know if her reformation was equally certain. Suſpecting that the female dreſs, which ſhe had conſented to wear, was diſagreeable to her, they purpoſely placed in her apartment a ſuit of men's apparel, and watched for the effect of their temptation upon her. Their cruel artifice prevailed. Joan, ſtruck with the ſight of a dreſs in which ſhe had gained ſo much glory, immediately threw off her penitent's robes, and put on the forbidden garment. Her enemies caught her equipped in this manner; and her imprudence was conſidered as a relapſe into her former tranſgreſſions. No reconciliation would ſuffice, and no pardon would be granted to her. She was condemned to be burnt alive in the market-place of Rouen, and this infamous ſentence was accordingly executed upon her.

Superſtition adds virulence to the natural cruelty of mankind; and this cruel ſentence ſerved only to inflame the hatred between the contending powers, without mending the cauſe of the invaders. One of the firſt misfortunes which the Engliſh felt after this puniſhment, was the deſection of the duke of Burgundy, who had for ſome time ſeen the error of his conduct, and wiſhed

willing to break an unnatural connection, that only served to involve his country in ruin. A treaty was therefore begun, and concluded, between him and Charles, in which the latter made all the atonements poſſible for his offence; and the former agreed to aſſiſt him in driving the Engliſh out of France. This was a mortal blow to their cauſe; and ſuch were its effects upon the populace in London, when they were informed of it, that they killed ſeveral of the duke of Burgundy's ſubjects, who happened to be among them at that time. It might perhaps alſo have haſtened the duke of Bedford's death, who died at Rouen a few days after the treaty was concluded; and the earl of Cambridge was appointed his ſucceſſor to the regency of France.

From this period the Engliſh affairs became totally irretrievable. The city of Paris returned once more to the ſenſe of its duty. Lord Willoughby, who commanded it for the Engliſh, was contented to ſtipulate for the ſafe retreat of his troops to Normandy. Thus ground was continually, though ſlowly, gained by the French; and, notwithſtanding their fields were laid waſte, and their towns depopulated, yet they found protection from the weakneſs and diviſions of the Engliſh. At length, both parties began to grow weary of a war, which, though carried on but feebly, was yet a burthen greater than either could ſupport. But the terms of peace inſiſted upon by both were ſo wide of each other, that no hopes of an accommodation could quickly be expected. A truce, therefore, for twenty-two months, was concluded, which left every thing on the preſent footing between the parties.

No

No ſooner was this agreed upon, than Charles employed himſelf with great induſtry and judgment in repairing thoſe numberleſs ills to which his kingdom, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domeſtic, had ſo long been expoſed. He eſtabliſhed diſcipline among his troops, and juſtice among his governors. He revived agriculture, and repreſſed faction. Thus being prepared once more for taking the field, he took the firſt favourable occaſion of breaking the truce; and Normandy was at the ſame time invaded by four powerful armies, one commanded by Charles himſelf, a ſecond by the duke of Bretagne, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count Dunois. Every place opened their gates almoſt as ſoon as the French appeared before them. Rouen was the only town that promiſed to hold out a ſiege; but the inhabitants clamoured ſo loud for a ſurrender, that the duke of Somerſet, who commanded the garriſon, was obliged to capitulate. The battle, or rather the ſkirmiſh of Fourmigni, was the laſt ſtand which the Engliſh made in defence of their French dominions. However, they were put to the rout, and above a thouſand were ſlain. All Normandy and Guienne, that had ſo long acknowledged ſubjection to England, were loſt in the ſpace of a year; and the Engliſh at length ſaw themſelves entirely diſpoſſeſſed of a country, which for above three centuries they had conſidered as annexed to their native dominions. Calais alone remained of all their conqueſts; and this was but a ſmall compenſation for the blood and treaſure which had been lavished in that country, and only ſerved to gratify ambition with a tranſient applauſe.

A. D. 1449.

It

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that the bad ſucceſſes in France, which began almoſt with young Henry's reign, produced diſſenſions and factions among the rulers at home. The duke of Glouceſter, who had been appointed regent of England during his brother's abſence, was not ſo ſecure in his place but that he had many who envied his ſituation. Among the number of theſe was Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, great uncle to the king, and the legitimate ſon of John of Gaunt. This prelate, to whom the care of the king's perſon and education had been intruſted, was a man of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous diſpoſition. As he aſpired to the government of affairs, he had continual diſputes with the duke of Glouceſter, and gained frequent advantages over the open temper of that prince. It was in vain that the duke of Bedford employed all his own authority, and that of parliament, to reconcile them; their mutual animoſities ſerved for ſeveral years to embarraſs government, and to give its enemies every advantage. The ſentiments of theſe two leaders of their party were particularly divided with regard to France. The cardinal encouraged every propoſal of accommodation with that country; the duke of Glouceſter was for maintaining the honour of the Engliſh arms, and winning back all that had been loſt by defeats or delay. In this conteſt, the powers ſeemed nearly divided; and it became incumbent on one ſide to call in new auxiliaries, before either party could turn the political ſcale. For this purpoſe, the cardinal was reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf, by procuring a ſuitable match for Henry, who was now twenty-three years old; and

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then, by bringing the new-made queen over to his intereſts, to turn the balance in his favour. Accordingly, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman whom he knew to be ſtedfaſt in his attachments, was ſent over to France, apparently to ſettle the terms of the truce, which had been then begun; but, in reality, to procure a ſuitable match for the king. The duke of Glouceſter had before propoſed a daughter of the count Armagnac, but had not influence ſufficient to prevail. The cardinal and his friends had caſt their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, but without either real power or poſſeſſions. This princeſs was conſidered as the moſt accompliſhed of the age, both in mind and perſon: and it was thought, would, by her own abilities, be able to ſupply the defects of her conſort, who already appeared weak, timid, and ſuperſtitious. The treaty was haſtened on by Suffolk, and the marriage ſoon after ratified in England.

The cardinal now ſtrengthened by this new alliance (for the queen came immediately into his meaſures), the duke of Glouceſter ſoon found himſelf poſſeſſed of only the ſhadow of power without the ſubſtance; all his meaſures were over-ruled by his powerful antagoniſt; and he daily found himſelf inſulted in the moſt cruel manner. One of the principal ſteps his enemies took to render him odious, was to accuſe his wife, the ducheſs, of witchcraft. She was charged with converſing with one Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and reputed necromancer, and alſo one Mary Gurdemain, who was ſaid to be a witch. It is aſſerted that theſe three in conjunction had made a figure of the king in wax, which was placed

placed before a gentle fire; and as the wax diſſolved, the king's ſtrength was expected to waſte; and upon its total diſſolution, his life was to be at an end. This accuſation was readily attended to in that credulous age; and the more it departed from reaſon, the fitter it was for becoming an object of belief. The priſoners were pronounced guilty; neither the rank of the ducheſs, nor the innocence of the accuſed could protect them; ſhe was condemned to do penance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment; Bolingbroke, the prieſt, was hanged, and the woman was burnt in Smithfield.

But this was only the beginning of the duke's diſtreſſes. The cardinal of Wincheſter was reſolved to drive his reſentment to the utmoſt extreme, and accordingly procured a parliament to be ſummoned, not at London, which was too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmundſbury, where his adherents were ſufficiently numerous to over-awe every opponent. As ſoon as he appeared, he was accuſed of treaſon, and thrown into priſon; and on the day on which he was to make his defence, he was found dead in his bed, though without any ſigns of violence upon his body.

The death of the duke of Glouceſter was univerſally aſcribed to the cardinal of Wincheſter, who himſelf died ſix weeks after, teſtifying the utmoſt remorſe for the bloody ſcene he had acted. What ſhare the queen had in the guilt of this tranſaction, is uncertain; her uſual activity and ſpirit made the public conclude, with ſome reaſon, that the duke's enemies durſt not have ventured on ſuch a deed without her privity. Henry did not fail to ſhare in the general diſguſt that

that was thus produced; and as he wanted abilities, he never had the art to remove any ſuſpicion. From this time diſcontent began to prevail among the people, and faction among the great. A weak prince ſeated on the throne of England, however gentle and innocent, ſeldom fails of having his authority deſpiſed, and his power inſulted. The incapacity of Henry began every day to appear in a fuller light; and the foreign war being now extinguiſhed, the people began to prepare for the horrors of inteſtine ſtrife. In this period of calamity, a new intereſt was revived, which had lain dormant in the times of proſperity and triumph.

It was now that the Engliſh were to pay the ſevere though late penalty for having unjuſtly depoſed Richard the Second; another Richard, who was duke of York, beginning to think of preferring his claims to the crown. This nobleman was deſcended, by the mother's ſide, from Lionel, one of the ſons of Edward the Third, whereas the reigning king was deſcended from John of Gaunt, a ſon of the ſame monarch, but younger than Lionel. Richard, therefore, ſtood plainly in ſucceſſion before Henry; and he began to think the weakneſs and unpopularity of the preſent reign a favourable moment for ambition. The enſign of Richard was a white roſe, that of Henry a red; and this gave name to the two factions whoſe animoſity was now about to drench the kingdom with blood.

The cardinal of Wincheſter being dead, the duke of Suffolk, who had a hand in Glouceſter's aſſaſſination, took the lead in public affairs; and being ſecretly aided by the intereſt of the queen, managed all with uncontroulable authority.

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As this nobleman had made his way to power by murder, ſo he was reſolved to maintain himſelf in it by the uſual reſources of bad men, by tyranny over his inferiors, and flattery to the queen. His conduct ſoon excited the jealouſy or the hatred of the whole kingdom. The great nobility could ill brook the exaltation of a ſubject above them, who was of a birth inferior to their own. The people complained of his arbitrary
A.D. 1450. meaſures, and the immenſe acquiſitions which he had made in office; and the blame of every odious and unſucceſsful meaſure was inſtantly given to him. Suffolk was not ignorant of the hatred of the people; but ſuppoſed that his crimes were ſuch as could not be proved againſt him, or that, if proved, he could readily evade puniſhment; he endeavoured, therefore, to overawe his enemies by boldly preſenting himſelf to the charge; and he called upon them to ſhow an inſtance of his guilt. This was what the Houſe of Commons had long wiſhed for; and they immediately opened their charge againſt him, of corruption, tyranny, and treaſon. He was accuſed of being the cauſe of the loſs of France; of perſuading the French king, with an armed force, to invade England; and of betraying in office the ſecrets of his department. This accuſation might have been falſe; but the real motive, which was Suffolk's power and the cruel uſe he made of it, was left unmentioned, although it was true. It was no eaſy matter for any one man's ſtrength, how great ſoever, to withſtand the united reſentment of a nation; ſo that the court was obliged to give up its favourite; and the king, to ſhield him as much as poſſible from popular reſentment,

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ment, baniſhed him the kingdom for five years. This was conſidered by ſome as an eſcape from juſtice; the captain of a veſſel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his paſſage to France; he was ſeized near Dover, his head was ſtruck off on the ſide of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the ſea. There is little in the tranſactions of theſe times to intereſt us on the ſide of either party; we ſee ſcarce any thing but crimes on both ſides, without one ſhining character, or one virtue to animate the narrative.

By the death of the duke of Suffolk, Richard of York ſaw himſelf rid of a potent enemy, and was pleaſed to ſee the diſcontents of the nation daily increaſe. Among the number of complaints which the unpopularity of the government gave riſe to, there were ſome which even excited inſurrection; particularly that headed by John Cade, which was of the moſt dangerous nature. This man was a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly over into France for his crimes; but ſeeing the people upon his return prepared for violent meaſures, he aſſumed the name of Mortimer, and, at the head of twenty thouſand Kentiſh-men, advanced towards the capital, and encamped at Blackheath. The king being informed of this commotion, ſent a meſſage to demand the cauſe of their aſſembling in arms; and Cade, in the name of the community, anſwered, that their only aim was to punish evil miniſters, and procure a redreſs of grievances for the people. The king's council deeming theſe demands ſeditious, a body of fifteen thouſand men were levied to oppoſe the inſurgents; while Henry himſelf marched at their head towards Blackheath. At his approach, Cade re-

tired, as if he had been afraid of an engagement, and lay in ambuſh in a wood, not doubting that he ſhould be purſued by the king's whole army; but the king was content with ſending a detachment after the fugitives, and returning himſelf to London. This was what Cade deſired to ſee; and ſallying out from his ambuſcade, he cut the detachment in pieces.

The citizens of London ſoon after opened their gates to the victor; and Cade for ſome time maintained great order and diſcipline among his followers. He always led them out into the field during the night-time; and publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt plunder, and violence of every kind.

Next day being informed that the treaſurer, lord Say, was in the city, he cauſed him to be apprehended, and beheaded without any form of trial; and in the evening returned to the Borough of Southwark. Thus for ſome days he continued the practice of entering the city in the morning, and quitting it at night; but at length being unable to keep his followers within bounds, the citizens reſolved to ſhut their gates againſt him. Cade endeavouring to force his way, an engagement enſued between him and the citizens, which laſted all day, and was not diſcontinued until night put an end to the engagement. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed of the ſituation of affairs, found means to draw up the ſame night an act of amneſty, which was privately diſperſed among the rebels. This had the deſired effect. Cade ſaw himſelf in the morning abandoned by moſt of his followers, and, retreating to Rocheſter, was obliged

liged to fly alone into the Wolds of Kent, where, a price being ſet upon his head by proclamation, he was diſcovered, and ſlain by one Alexander Eden, who, in recompenſe for this ſervice, was made governor of Dover-caſtle.

In the mean time, the duke of York ſecretly fomented theſe diſturbances; and, pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of the people, wrote to the king, adviſing a reformation in the miniſtry; and the houſe of commons was brought over to ſecond his requeſt. An addreſs was preſented againſt the duke of Somerſet, the ducheſs of Suffolk, the biſhop of Cheſter, ſir John Tufton, and lord Dudley, praying the king to remove them for ever from his perſon and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. Though the king was willing enough to oppoſe ſo violent and arbitrary an attack upon his favourites, yet he endeavoured to ſoften the general animoſity againſt them, by promiſing to baniſh a part of the obnoxious miniſtry from court for the ſpace of a year.

But partial conceſſions in government are generally bad palliatives. The duke of York, who found the people entirely attached to him, reſolved to avail himſelf of his power; and raiſing a body of ten thouſand men, marched towards London, demanded a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerſet from all his power and authority. He had hopes from the beginning that the citizens would have thrown open the gates to him; but was much mortified, when he found that he was refuſed admiſſion. Upon his retreat into Kent, a parley enſued between the king and him, in which the duke ſtill inſiſted on the diſmiſſion of

Somerſet, with which the king ſeemed at length willing to comply. The duke of York was, therefore, perſuaded to pay his reſpects to the king in his tent; but on repeating his charge againſt the duke of Somerſet, he was ſurpriſed to ſee that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and offer to juſtify his innocence. York now perceived his danger, and repreſſed the impetuoſity of his accuſation. As ſoon as he left the preſence, the king commanded him to be apprehended; but ſuch was this nobleman's authority, or ſuch the timidity of the king's council, that they ſuffered him to retire to his ſeat at Wigmore, upon promiſing ſtrict obedience for the future.

A reconciliation thus extorted could be of no long duration. York ſtill ſecretly aſpired to the crown; and though he wiſhed nothing ſo ardently, yet he was for ſome time prevented by his own ſcruples from ſeizing it. What his intrigues failed to bring about, accident produced to his deſire. The king falling into a diſtemper, which ſo far increaſed his natural imbecillity, that it even rendered him incapable of maintaining the appearance of royalty, York was appointed lieutenant and protector of the kingdom, with powers to hold and open parliament at pleaſure. This was a fatal blow to the houſe of Lancaſter: all the adherents of that party were diſmiſſed from court, and the duke of Somerſet was ſent to the Tower.

York being thus inveſted with a plenitude of power, continued in the enjoyment of it for
A. D. 1454. ſome time; but at length the unhappy king recovered from his lethargic complaint; and, as if awaking from a dream, perceived with ſurpriſe,

priſe, that he was ſtripped of all his authority. Margaret, his queen, alſo did all in her power to rouſe him to a ſenſe of his unworthy ſituation, and prevailed upon him to remove the duke of York from his power; in conſequence of which, that nobleman had inſtant recourſe to arms. The impotent monarch, thus obliged to take the field, was dragged after his army to St. Alban's, where both ſides came to an engagement, in which the Yorkiſts gained a complete victory, and the duke of Somerſet was ſlain. The king himſelf being wounded, and taking ſhelter in a cottage near the field of battle, was taken priſoner, and treated by the victor with great reſpect and tenderneſs. From thence he was, ſhortly after, led along in triumph to London; and the duke of York permitting him ſtill to enjoy the name of king, reſerved to himſelf the title of protector, in which conſiſted all the real power of the crown.

Henry was now but a priſoner treated with the ſplendid forms of royalty; yet, indolent and ſickly, he ſeemed pleaſed with his ſituation, and did not regret that power which was not to be exerciſed without fatigue. But it was otherwiſe with Margaret, his queen. She, naturally bold, active, and endued with maſculine courage, could not be content with the appearance of that authority which her enemies alone permitted her to exerciſe; ſhe continued to excite the wretched monarch to a vindication of his regal dignity, and to ſpur him on to independence. He was, therefore, once more induced to aſſert his prerogative; and the duke of York was obliged to retire, to be in readineſs to oppoſe any deſigns againſt his liberty and life. At firſt a negotia-

tion for peace was entered upon by both parties; but their mutual diſtruſts ſoon brought them into the field, and the fate of the kingdom was given up to be determined by the ſword. Their armies met at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, and the Yorkiſts gained ſome advantages. But when a more general action was about to enſue, the night before the intended engagement, ſir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a body of veterans for the duke of York, deſerted with all his men to the king; and this ſo intimidated the whole army of the Yorkiſts, that they ſeparated the next day, without ſtriking a ſingle blow. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, one of his boldeſt and ableſt ſupporters, eſcaped to Calais, with the government of which he had been intruſted during the late protectorſhip; and all the party, thus ſuppreſſed, concealed their intentions for a more favourable opportunity. Nor was this opportunity long wanting; Warwick having met with ſome ſucceſſes at ſea, landed in Kent, and being there joined by ſome other barons, he marched up to London, amidſt the acclamations of the people. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops increaſing on every day's march, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to attack him. Never was there a more formidable diviſion of intereſts, or greater inveteracy between the chiefs of either party, than the preſent. Warwick was one of the moſt celebrated generals of his age, formed for times of trouble, extremely artful, and inconteſtably brave, equally ſkilful in council and the field, and inſpired with a degree of hatred againſt

Sept. 23. 1459.

againſt the queen, that nothing could ſuppreſs. On the other ſide, the queen ſeemed the only acting general: ſhe ranged the army in battalia, and gave the neceſſary orders, while the poor king was brought forward, an involuntary ſpectator of thoſe martial preparations. Both armies met on a plain near Northampton; the queen's forces amounting to about five and twenty thouſand men, the earl of Warwick's to near double that number. While the queen went about from rank to rank, the king remained in his tent, awaiting the iſſue of the combat; with female doubts and apprehenſions. The battle continued for five hours, with the utmoſt obſtinacy; but at length the good fortune and the numbers of Warwick were ſeen to prevail. The queen's army was overthrown; and ſhe had the misfortune to ſee the king once more made a priſoner, and brought back to his capital in triumph.

The cauſe of the Yorkiſts being thus confirmed by the ſtrongeſt arguments, thoſe of power, a parliament was called to give it their more formal ſanction. The duke of York, whoſe proſpects began to widen as he roſe, from being contented with the protectorſhip, now began to claim the crown. It was now, for the firſt time, that the houſe of lords ſeemed to enjoy an unbiaſſed deliberative authority; the cauſe of Henry and the duke of York was ſolemnly debated, each ſide producing their reaſons without fear or control. This was the firſt time that a ſpirit of true rational liberty ever appeared to exert itſelf in England, and in which recent conqueſt did not ſuperſede all deliberation. The duke of York though a conqueror, could not entirely

gain his cauſe: it was determined that Henry ſhould poſſeſs the throne during his life; and that the duke of York ſhould be appointed his ſucceſſor, to the utter excluſion of the prince of Wales, who, yet but a child, was inſenſible of the injury that was done him.

The queen, to all appearance, now ſeemed utterly deſtitute of every reſource; her armies were routed, her huſband taken priſoner, and the parliament diſclaimed her cauſe; yet though ſhe had loſt all, ſhe ſtill retained her native intrepidity and perſeverance. She was a woman of a great mind and ſome faults, but ambition ſeemed to be the leading paſſion in all her conduct. Though a fugitive, diſtant from the capital, oppoſed by a victorious army, and a conſummate general, ſhe ſtill tried every reſource to repair her diſaſtrous circumſtances. She flew to Wales; there endeavoured to animate her old friends, and to acquire new. The nobility of the North, who regarded themſelves as the moſt warlike of the kingdom, were moved with indignation to find the ſouthern barons diſpoſe of the crown, and ſettle the government. They began to conſider the royal cauſe as unjuſtly oppreſſed; and the queen ſoon found herſelf at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men, ready to ſecond her pretenſions. She and her old enemy the duke of York, once more met upon Wakefield Green, near the caſtle of Sandel; and victory, on this occaſion, declared itſelf in favour of the queen. The duke of York was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the ſlain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown in deriſion of his pretended title.

Dec. 2, 1460.

His

His ſon, the earl of Rutland, a youth of ſeventeen, was taken priſoner and killed in cold blood, by lord Clifford, in revenge for his father's death, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's.

Margaret, being victorious, marched towards London, in order to give the king liberty; but the earl of Warwick, who now put himſelf at the head of the Yorkiſts, commanded an army, in which he led about the captive king, to give a ſanction to his attempts. Upon the approach of the Lancaſtrians, he conducted his forces, ſtrengthened by a body of Londoners, who were very affectionate to his cauſe, and gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. While the armies were warmly engaged, lord Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable body of Yorkiſts, treacherouſly withdrew from the combat; and this decided the victory in favour of the queen. Above two thouſand of the Yorkiſts periſhed in the battle, and the perſon of the king again fell into the hands of his own party; to be treated with apparent reſpect, but real contempt. Lord Bonville, to whoſe care he had been intruſted, ſtaid with him after the defeat, upon an aſſurance of pardon; but Margaret, regardleſs of her huſband's promiſe, immediately ordered his head to be ſtruck off.

It only now remained that the city of London ſhould declare in the queen's favour: but Warwick had previouſly ſecured it in his intereſts; and the citizens, who dreaded her tumultuous army, refuſed to open their gates to her ſummons. In the mean time young Edward, the eldeſt ſon of the late duke of York, began to repair the loſſes his party had lately ſuſtained, and to give ſpirit to the Yorkiſts. This prince, in

in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, his bravery, and popular deportment, advanced towards London with the remainder of Warwick's army, and obliging Mar-
A. D. 1461. garet to retire, entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the people. Perceiving his own popularity, he ſuppoſed that now was the time to lay his claim to the crown; and his friend Warwick, aſſembling the citizens in St. John's Fields, pronounced an harangue, ſetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the houſe of Lancaſter. He then demanded whether they chose Henry for their king; to which the people crying, a York! a York! he quickly called an aſſembly of lords and biſhops at Baynard's Caſtle, and theſe ratified their choice. The young duke was proclaimed king, by the title of Edward IV. and then conducted with great ceremony to the palace where Henry uſed to lodge when within the walls of the city.

But the miſeries of a civil war were not yet completed, and Margaret was reſolved to ſtrike another blow. Upon her retiring to the North, great numbers flocked to her ſtandard, and ſhe was able, in a few days, to aſſemble an army of ſixty thouſand men in Yorkſhire. On the other ſide, the earl of Warwick conducted young Edward at the head of forty thouſand men to oppoſe her. Both ſides at length met near Towton, in the county of York, to decide the fate of empire, and never was England depopulated by ſo terrible an engagement. It was a dreadful ſight, to behold a hundred thouſand men of the ſame country engaged againſt each other; and all to ſatisfy the empty ambition of the weakeſt, or

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the worſt of mankind. While the army of Edward was advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of ſnow, which driving full in the faces of the enemy, blinded them; and this advantage, ſeconded by an impetuous onſet, decided the victory in their favour. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter; and a bloody ſlaughter enſued, in which near forty thouſand of the Lancaſtrians were ſlain. Edward entered York victorious; and taking down the heads of his father and the earl of Saliſbury, that were placed over the city gates, put up that of the earl of Devonſhire in their ſtead.

In the mean time, Margaret hearing the fate of her army, and being ſenſible that no place in England could now afford her protection, ſhe fled with Henry and her ſon to Scotland. But no calamity was able to repreſs her perſeverance; though ſo often overcome, yet ſhe was reſolved once more to enter England with five thouſand men granted her by the French king; and the unfortunate Henry was led onward, by his preſence to enforce her claims. But even here her former ill fortune attended her; and her little fleet was diſperſed by a tempeſt, while ſhe herſelf eſcaped with ſome difficulty, by entering the mouth of the Tweed. Soon after, a defeat, which her few forces ſuffered at Hexham, ſeemed to render her cauſe deſperate; and the cruelty which was practiſed upon all her adherents, rendered it ſtill more dangerous.

The loſs of this battle appeared to deprive her of every reſource; ſhe and her huſband were obliged to ſeek for ſafety in a ſeparate flight, without attendants, and without even the neceſſaries of life. The weak unfortunate king, always

ways imprudent, and always unſucceſsful, thought he could remain concealed in England; but his error was ſoon attended with the obvious conſequences, being taken priſoner, carried to London with ignominy, and confined in the Tower. Margaret was rather more fortunate. She flying with her ſon into a foreſt, where ſhe endeavoured to conceal herſelf, was ſet upon during the darkneſs of the night by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardleſs of her quality, deſpoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity But ſhe found more reſpectful treatment from one of thoſe lawleſs men, who, knowing her ſtation, reſolved to procure her ſafety at the hazard of his own; and at laſt conducted her to the ſea-coaſt, whence ſhe made her eſcape to her father in Flanders, who, though very poor, ſtrove as well as he could to ſupply her with the neceſſaries of life. To the ſame court the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter retired; and they, literally ſpeaking, felt all the miſeries of want. Philip de Comines, the French hiſtorian, ſays he ſaw the duke of Exeter following the duke of Burgundy's equipage bare-footed, and ſerving for his livelihood as a footman. This was a ſtrange ſituation for a lord, who had conducted armies, and was allied to kings and princes; but thoſe enjoyments which ſerved to diſtinguiſh the great from the little, were not ſo apparent then as at preſent.

Edward being now, by means of the earl of Warwick, fixed upon the throne, reigned in peace and ſecurity, while his title was recogniſed by parliament, and univerſally ſubmitted to
A.D. 1464. by the people He began, therefore, to give a looſe to his favourite paſſions; and a ſpirit of gallantry,

gallantry, mixed with cruelty, was ſeen to prevail in his court. In the very ſame palace which one day exhibited a ſpectacle of horror, was to be ſeen the day following a maſk or a pageant; and the king would at once gallant a miſtreſs and inſpect an execution. In order to turn him from theſe purſuits, which were calculated to render him unpopular, the earl of Warwick adviſed him to marry; and, with his conſent, went over to France to procure Bona of Savoy as queen; and the match was accordingly concluded. But whilſt the earl was haſtening the negotiation in France, the king himſelf rendered it abortive at home, by marrying Elizabeth Woodville, with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. Having thus given Warwick real cauſe of offence, he was reſolved to widen the breach, by driving him from the council. Every incident tended to increaſe the jealouſy between the king and this powerful ſubject; the favour ſhown the queen's party, and the contempt which was thrown upon the earl, manifeſted an open rupture. Warwick, whoſe prudence was equal to his bravery, ſoon made uſe of both to aſſiſt his revenge; he ſeduced the duke of Clarence, brother to the king; and, to confirm that nobleman in his intereſts, gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus an extenſive and dangerous combination was formed againſt Edward and his miniſtry; and an accident that followed ſoon after, contributed to fan the flame. The inhabitants about St. Leonard's hoſpital, in Yorkſhire, complained that the duties levied for that inſtitution, which were originally allotted for pious uſes, were now ſecreted by the managers;

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and they refuſed to contribute their part. They ſoon after roſe in a body to oppoſe the eccleſiaſtical ſeverities that were levelled againſt them by the earl of Pembroke. It is thought that the earl of Warwick had ſome hand in fomenting theſe diſorders; and although this rebellion was quieted by a pardon from Edward, yet ſome others, that broke out ſhortly after, appeared favourable to Warwick's deſigns. Vengeance ſeemed to be the only motive this nobleman had in view; and that he purſued with unabating aſſiduity. Plots, treaſons, ſtratagems, and negotiations, followed each other in rapid ſucceſſion; but at laſt fortune ſeemed to favour Warwick's aims; and the king, as we are told, fell into his power, by accepting an invitation, which the earl gave him, in order to betray him. Be this as it may, Edward had ſoon the good fortune to ſee himſelf at the head of a numerous army, and in a condition to take ſatisfaction for the treachery of his powerful opponent. Reſolving, therefore, to take advantage of the enemies' weakneſs, after having defeated a party commanded by lord Wells, and cut off his head, he marched to give them battle. In this exigence, Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, had no other reſource but to quit the kingdom; and embarking for Calais, they ſeized upon ſome Flemiſh veſſels, which they found lying along that coaſt, with which they entered one of the ports of France. Here they entered into an union with Margaret, which was dictated by neceſſity; both ſides being willing to forget their mutual animoſity, in order to ſecond their revenge. Lewis, the king of France, prepared a fleet to eſcort them; and ſeizing the opportunity, they landed at Dartmouth with

with a ſmall body of troops, while Edward was in the North ſuppreſſing an inſurrection, which had lately appeared there. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the ſucceſs of Warwick upon this occaſion. The ſpirit of diſcontent with which many were infected, and the general inſtability of the Engliſh nation, conſpired with his ambition; and in leſs than ſix days, ſuch multitudes flocked to his ſtandard, that he ſaw himſelf at the head of an army of threeſcore thouſand men.

It was now become Edward's turn to fly the kingdom. He had juſt time to eſcape an attempt made upon his perſon in the night, by the marquis of Montague; and to embark on board a ſmall fleet, which lay off Lynn in Norfolk. Nor were his dangers leſſened at ſea, where he was chaſed by ſome ſhips belonging to the hanſe-towns, who were then at war with both France and England. But at length he landed ſafely in Holland, where he received a cool reception from the duke of Burgundy, with whom he had ſome time before entered into an alliance.

In the mean time Warwick, with his reſiſtleſs army, advanced to London; and once more the poor paſſive king Henry was releaſed from priſon, to be placed upon a dangerous throne. A parliament was called, which confirmed Henry's title with great ſolemnity; and Warwick was himſelf received among the people under the title of the King-maker. All the attainders of the Lancaſtrians were reverſed; and every one was reſtored, who had loſt either honours or fortune by his former adherence to Henry's cauſe. All the conſiderable Yorkiſts either fled to the continent, A. D. 1470.

or

or took ſhelter in ſanctuaries, where the eccleſiaſtical privileges afforded them protection.

But Edward's party, though repreſſed, was not deſtroyed. Though an exile in Holland, he had many partiſans at home; and, after an abſence of nine months, being ſeconded by a ſmall body of forces, granted him by the duke of Burgundy, he made a deſcent at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Though at firſt he was coolly received by the Engliſh, yet his army increaſed upon its march, while his moderation and feigned humility ſtill added to the number of his partiſans. London, at that time ever ready to admit the moſt powerful, opened her gates to him; and the wretched Henry was once more plucked from his throne, to be ſent back to his former manſion.

Thus Warwick began to experience the inſtability of fortune, and find his party declining; but what gave the moſt dreadful blow to his hopes, was the defection of his ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, who went over to Edward, and threw all his weight into the oppoſite ſcale. Nothing now remained to Warwick, but to cut ſhort a ſtate of anxious ſuſpenſe by hazarding a battle; and though he knew his forces to be inferior to thoſe of Edward, yet he placed his greateſt dependence upon his own generalſhip. With this reſolution he marched from St. Alban's where he was ſtationed, and advancing towards Barnet, within ten miles of London, there reſolved to wait for Edward, who was not ſlow in marching down to oppoſe him. Warwick and Edward were at that time conſidered as the two moſt renowned generals of the age; and now was to be ſtruck the deciſive blow that was either to fix Edward on the throne, or to overthrow his

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pretenſions for ever. The unfortunate Henry alſo was dragged along to be a ſpectator of the engagement; happy in his natural imbecility, which ſeemed as a balm to ſooth all his afflictions.

The battle began early in the morning, and laſted till noon; for never did two armies fight with greater obſtinacy and bravery, not honour but life depending on the iſſue of the conteſt. The example of Warwick inſpired his troops with more than common reſolution, and the victory for a while ſeemed to declare in his favour. But an accident at laſt threw the balance againſt him: from the miſtineſs of the morning, a part of his army happening to miſtake a body of their own forces for that of the enemy, fell furiouſly upon them, and this error turned the fortune of the day. Warwick did all that experience, valour, or conduct could ſuggeſt, to retrieve the miſtake, but it was now too late; no art could recover the former error; wherefore, finding all hopes gone, he was reſolved to ſell the conquerors a dear-bought victory. He had, contrary to his uſual practice, engaged that day on foot; and leading a choſen body of troops into the thickeſt of the ſlaughter, he there fell in the midſt of his enemies, covered with wounds. His brother underwent the ſame fate; and ten thouſand of his adherents were ſlain, Edward having ordered that no quarter ſhould be given. A D 1471. Apr. 14.

Margaret, who had been ever fruitful in reſources, was at that time returning from France with her ſon, the prince of Wales, where ſhe had been negotiating for freſh ſupplies. She had ſcarce time to refreſh herſelf from the fatigues of her voyage, when ſhe received the

fatal news of the death of the brave Warwick, and the total deſtruction of her party. Though ſhe had hitherto boldly withſtood all the attacks of fortune, the preſent information was too violent a blow for nature to ſupport. Her grief, for the firſt time, found way in a torrent of tears; and yielding to her unhappy fate, ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampſhire.

She had not been long in this melancholy abode before ſhe found ſome few friends ſtill willing to aſſiſt her fallen fortunes. Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, the lords of Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, exhorted her ſtill to hope for ſucceſs, and offered to aſſiſt her to the laſt. A dawn of hope was ſufficient to revive the courage of this magnanimous woman; and the recollection of her former misfortunes gave way to the flattering proſpect of another trial. She had now fought battles in almoſt every province in England: Tewkeſbury-park was the laſt ſcene that terminated her attempts. The duke of Somerſet headed her army; a man who had ſhared her dangers, and had ever been ready in her cauſe. He was valiant, generous, and polite; but raſh, and headſtrong. When Edward firſt attacked him in his entrenchments, he repulſed him with ſuch vigour, that the enemy retired with precipitation; upon which the duke, ſuppoſing them routed, purſued, and ordered lord Wenlock to ſupport his charge. But unfortunately this lord diſobeyed his orders; and Somerſet's forces were ſoon overpowered by numbers. In this dreadful exigence, the duke, finding that all was over, became ungovernable

in his rage; and beholding Wenlock inactive, and remaining in the very place where he had firſt drawn up his men, giving way to his fury, with his heavy battle-ax in both hands, he ran upon the coward, and with one blow daſhed out his brains.

The queen and the prince were taken priſoners after the battle, and brought into the preſence of Edward. The young prince appeared before the conqueror with undaunted majeſty;* and being aſked, in an inſulting manner, how he dared to invade England without leave, the young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his ruined fortune, replied, "I have "entered the dominions of my father, to re- "venge his injuries, and redreſs my own." The barbarous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, ſtruck him on the mouth with his gauntlet; and this ſerved as a ſignal for farther brutality: the dukes of Glouceſter, Clarence, and others, like wild beaſts, ruſhing on the unarmed youth at once, ſtabbed him to the heart with their daggers. To complete the tragedy, Henry himſelf, who had long been the paſſive ſpectator of all theſe horrors, was now thought unfit to live. The duke of Glouceſter, afterwards Richard the Third, entering his chamber alone, murdered him in cold blood. Of all thoſe who were taken, none were ſuffered to ſurvive but Margaret herſelf. It was perhaps expected that ſhe would be ranſomed by the king of France; and in this they were not deceived, as that monarch paid the king of England fifty thouſand crowns for her freedom. This extraordinary woman, after having ſuſtained the

cauſe of her huſband in twelve battles, after having ſurvived her friends, fortunes, and children, died a few years after in privacy in France, very miſerable indeed; but with few other claims to our pity, except her courage and her diſtreſſes.



CHAP. XIV.

EDWARD IV.

OF all people the Engliſh are the moſt truly compaſſionate; and a throne raiſed upon cruelty never wanted enemies among them. Nothing could have been more ill-judged than any attempts to govern ſuch a people by the hands of the executioner: and the leaders of either faction ſeemed inſenſible of this truth. Edward being now freed from great enemies, turned to the puniſhment of thoſe of leſſer note; ſo that the gibbets were hung with his adverſaries, and their eſtates confiſcated to his uſe. The baſtard Falconbridge, among others, having

advanced to London at the head of a ſmall body of forces, was repulſed; and being taken priſoner, was immediately executed.

But while Edward was thus rendering himſelf terrible on the one hand, he was immerſed in abandoned pleaſures on the other. Nature it ſeems, was not unfavourable to him in that reſpect; as he was univerſally allowed to be the moſt beautiful man of his time. His courtiers alſo ſeemed willing to encourage thoſe debaucheries in which they had a ſhare, and the clergy, as they themſelves practiſed every kind of lewdneſs with impunity, were ever ready to lend a diſpenſation to all his failings. For though inceſtuous vices had been of late ſo common, that adultery was held but as a very light offence. Among the number of his miſtreſſes was the wife of one Shore, a merchant in the city, a woman of exquiſite beauty and good ſenſe, but who had not virtue enough to reſiſt the temptations of a beautiful man and a monarch.

England now enjoying a temporary calm, Edward thought that the beſt way to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects, would be to aſſert his right to his dominions in France, which the inſurrections of his father had contributed to alienate during the former reign. An attempt of this kind would ſerve to give vent to the malignant diſpoſition of his enemies, and would be ſure to pleaſe the vulgar, who are ever more fond of ſplendid than of uſeful acquiſitions. To proſecute this ſcheme, the king ſent off to his ally, the duke of Burgundy, a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and ſoon after paſſed over himſelf at the head of a numerous

army.

army. Lewis the Eleventh, who was then king of France, was, not without reaſon, alarmed at this formidable invaſion, which, as he was unable to reſiſt, he ſtrove to obviate by treaty. This ſucceeded more effectually than arms; the two kings had an interview at the bridge of Perpignan; and, upon the promiſe of a ſtipulated ſum, Edward agreed to lead his forces back to England. This monarch wanted to return home to his miſtreſſes, to ſpend upon them the money he expected to receive from France; and the French monarch hoped ſoon to put himſelf in a poſture to refuſe giving the ſums which he had only made a promiſe to pay.

Upon the concluſion of this expedition, which thus ended without effect, Edward appeared no leſs actuated by private paſſions unworthy a ſovereign and a ſtateſman, than jealous of all who ſeemed to deſpiſe his conduct. Among the detail of private wrongs, which are too minute for hiſtory, an act of tyranny, of which he was guilty in his own family, deſerves the deteſtation of poſterity. The duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting Warwick, had never been able to recover the king's friendſhip, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. A pretext was, therefore, ſought to ruin him; and the openneſs of his haſty temper ſoon gave the wiſhed-for occaſion. The king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, a creature of the duke's, he killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet, vexed at the loſs, broke into a paſſion, and wiſhed the horns of the deer in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed the king to that inſult.

For this trifling exclamation, Burdet was tried for his life and publicly executed at Tyburn The duke of Clarence, upon the death of his friend, vented his grief in renewed reproaches againſt his brother, and exclaimed againſt the iniquity of the ſentence. The king, highly offended with this liberty, or uſing that as a pretext againſt him, had him arraigned before the houſe of peers, and appeared in perſon as his accuſer In thoſe times of confuſion, every crime alleged by the prevailing party was fatal; the duke was found guilty, and being granted a choice of the manner in which he would die, he was privately drowned in a butt of malmſey, in the Tower; a whimſical choice, and implying that he had an extraordinary paſſion for that liquor.

The reſt of this monarch's life was ſpent in riot and debauchery; in gratifications that are pleaſing only to the narrow mind, in uſeleſs treaties with France, in which he was ever deceived, and in empty threats againſt the monarch who had deceived him. His parliament, become merely the miniſters of his will, conſented, at his requeſt, to a war with France, at a time when his alliances upon the continent were ſo broken, that it was impoſſible for it to ſucceed. The people ſeemed equally pleaſed with the proſpect of an expedition, which, without ſerving, could only tend to impoveriſh the nation; and great hopes were revived of once more conquering France. While all were thus occupied with hope, or private diſtruſt, and while Edward was employed in making preparations for that enterpriſe, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he expired, in the forty-ſecond year of his age,

and

and (counting from his firſt uſurpation) in the twenty-third of his reign. The character of this prince is eaſily ſummed up. His beſt qualities were courage and beauty; his bad, a combination of all the vices. Beſides five daughters, this king left two ſons; Edward, prince of Wales, his ſucceſſor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard, duke of York, in his ſeventh.

CHAP.



CHAP. XX.

EDWARD V.

UPON the death of Edward, the kingdom was divided into two new factions. The queen's family, who, during the laſt reign, had grown into power, was become obnoxious to the old nobility, who could not bear to act in ſubordination to perſons whom they conſidered as inferiors. The king, during his life-time, had been able to over-awe theſe animoſities; and on his death-bed endeavoured to guard againſt their future increaſe. He expreſſed a deſire, that his brother the duke of Glouceſter ſhould be intruſted with the regency, and recommended

peace

peace and unanimity during the minority of his ſon. But the king was no ſooner dead than the parties broke out with all their former reſentment; and the duke of Glouceſter, a crafty, wicked, and ambitious prince, reſolved to profit by their mutual contentions.

His firſt aim was to foment the diſcontents of the old nobility, by inſinuating, that the queen wanted to hide the meanneſs of her original in a multitude of new promotions; at the ſame time he redoubled his profeſſions of zeal and attachment to that princeſs, and thus entirely gained her confidence. Having ſucceeded thus far, he gained over the duke of Buckingham, and ſome other lords, to his intereſt, and prevailed upon them to ſecond him in his attempts to get the guardianſhip of the young king conferred upon him, together with the cuſtody of his perſon.

Being ſure of the aſſiſtance of theſe noblemen, he reſolved to take the king out of the cuſtody of the earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's ſide; and having procured that nobleman to be arreſted, he met young Edward in perſon, and offered to conduct him to London, with the moſt profound demonſtrations of reſpect. Having thus ſecured the perſon of the king, his next ſtep was to get the charge of the king's brother, a boy of about ſeven years old, who, with the queen, his mother, had taken ſanctuary in Weſtminſter Abbey. The queen, who had foreſeen from the beginning the dangers that threatened her family, was very hardly perſuaded to deliver up her child; but at the interceſſion of the primate, and the archbiſhop of York,

the

ſhe was at laſt induced to comply: and claſping the child in her arms, with a laſt embrace, took leave of him with a ſhower of tears. The young king, finding that he was to have the pleaſure of his brother's company, was greatly rejoiced at the queen's compliance, not conſidering the fatal intent of theſe preparations; for in a few days after the duke of Glouceſter, who had been made protector of the realm, upon a pretence of guarding their perſons from danger, conveyed them both to the Tower.

Having thus ſecured the perſons of thoſe he intended to deſtroy, his next ſtep was to ſpread a report of their illegitimacy; and, by pretended obſtacles, to put off the day appointed for the young king's coronation. Lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the firſt to diſcloſe his fears of the protector's having ill deſigns: and communicated his ſuſpicions to lord Haſtings, who long had been firmly attached to the king's family. Haſtings would at firſt give the ſurmiſe no credit; and probably his wiſhes that ſuch a project might not be true, influenced his judgment, and confirmed his ſecurity. But he was ſoon undeceived; for Cateſby, a vile inſtrument of the protector, was ſent to ſound him, and to try whether he could not be brought over to aſſiſt the projected uſurpation. Haſtings treated the propoſal with horror; he profeſſed himſelf immovable in his adherence to the king; and his death was, therefore, reſolved on by the protector.

In the mean time, orders had been diſpatched to execute the lords Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan, who had been confined in Pomfret caſtle, and whoſe only crime was their attachment to the young

young king. On the very day on which they were beheaded, the protector ſummoned a council in the Tower, whither lord Haſtings, amongſt others, repaired, no way ſuſpecting that his own life was in danger. The duke of Glouceſter was capable of committing the moſt bloody and treacherous murders with the utmoſt coolneſs and indifference. He came thither at nine o'clock in the morning, with the moſt chearful countenance, ſaluting the members with the utmoſt affability, and demonſtrations of unuſual good humour. He complimented the biſhop of Ely on his early ſtrawberries, and begged to have a diſh of them. He then left the council, as if called away by other buſineſs; but deſired that his abſence might not interrupt the debates. In about an hour he returned quite altered in look, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and ſhowing, by a frequent change of countenance, the ſigns of ſome inward perturbation. A ſilence enſued for ſome time; and the lords looked upon each other, not without reaſon, expecting ſome horrid cataſtrophe. At length, he broke the dreadful ſilence: "My lords, cried he, what puniſh-"ment do they deſerve, who have conſpired "againſt my life?" This queſtion redoubled the aſtoniſhment of the aſſembly; and the ſilence continuing, lord Haſtings at length made anſwer, that whoever did ſo, deſerved to be puniſhed as a traitor. "Theſe traitors, cried the pro-"tector, are the ſorcereſs my brother's wife, "and Jane Shore, his miſtreſs, with others "their aſſociates. See to what a condition they "have reduced me by their incantations and "witchcrafts." Upon which he laid bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. The amaze-

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ment of the council ſeemed to increaſe at this terrible accuſation; and lord Haſtings again ſaid; "If they have committed ſuch a crime, "they deſerve puniſhment." "If? cried the "protector, with a loud voice, doſt thou anſwer "me with Ifs? I tell thee that they have con- "ſpired my death; and that thou, traitor, art "an accomplice in their crime." He then ſtruck the table twice with his hand; and the room was inſtantly filled with armed men. "I "arreſt thee, continues he, turning to Haſt- "ings, for high treaſon;" and at the ſame time gave him in charge to the ſoldiers. In the mean time the council-room was filled with tumult and confuſion; and though no reſcue was offered, yet the ſoldiers cauſed a buſtle, as if they apprehended danger. One of them narrowly miſſed cleaving lord Stanley's head with a battle-axe; but he fortunately eſcaped, by ſhrinking under the table. In all probability the fellow had orders for that attempt: and ſhould Stanley be killed, his death might be aſcribed to the tumult cauſed by an intended reſcue. However, though he eſcaped the blow, he was arreſted by the protector's order, who was well appriſed of his attachment to the young king. As for lord Haſtings, he was obliged to make a ſhort confeſſion to the next prieſt that was at hand; the protector crying out, by St. Paul, that he would not dine till he had ſeen his head taken off. He was accordingly hurried out to the little Green before the Tower chapel, and there beheaded on a log of wood that accidentally lay in the way. Two hours after a proclamation, very well drawn up, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and palliating the ſud-

denneſs

denneſs of his puniſhment. It was remarked, however, by a merchant among the auditors, that the proclamation was certainly drawn up by a ſpirit of prophecy.

The protector, having thus got rid of thoſe he moſt feared, was willing to pleaſe the populace by puniſhing Jane Shore, the late king's miſtreſs. This unfortunate woman was an enemy too humble to excite his jealouſy; yet, as he had accuſed her of witchcraft, of which all the world ſaw ſhe was innocent, he thought proper to make her an example, for thoſe faults of which ſhe was really guilty. Jane Shore had been formerly deluded from her huſband, who was a goldſmith in Lombard ſtreet, and continued to live with Edward, the moſt guiltleſs miſtreſs in his abandoned court. She was ever known to intercede for the diſtreſſed, and was uſually applied to as mediator for mercy. She was charitable, generous, and of a moſt pleaſing converſation; her wit being ſaid to be as irreſiſtible as her beauty. As ſhe was blameleſs in other reſpects, the protector ordered her to be ſued for incontinency, as having left her huſband to live in adultery with another. It is very probable, that the people were not diſpleaſed at ſeeing one again reduced to former meanneſs, who had for a while been raiſed above them, and enjoyed the ſmiles of a court. The charge againſt her was too notorious to be denied, ſhe pleaded guilty, and was accordingly condemned to walk barefoot through the city, and to do penance in St. Paul's church in a white ſheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before thouſands of ſpectators. She lived above forty years after this ſentence, reduced to the moſt extreme wretchedneſs; and

ſir Thomas More, in the ſucceeding reign, aſſures us, that he ſaw her gathering herbs in a field near the city for her nightly repaſt; an extraordinary example of the ingratitude of courts, and the reverſes of fortune.

The protector now began to throw off the maſk, and to deny his pretended regard for the ſons of the late king, thinking it high time to aſpire at the throne more openly. He had previouſly gained over the duke of Buckingham, a man of talents and power, by bribes and promiſes of future favour. This nobleman, therefore, uſed all his arts to infuſe into the people an opinion of the baſtardy of the late king, and alſo that of his children. Doctor Shaw, a popular preacher, was hired to harangue the people from St Paul's Croſs to the ſame purpoſe; where, after having diſplayed the incontinence of the queen, and inſiſting on the illegality of the young king's title, he then expatiated on the virtues of the protector. "This is the protector, cried he, "who carries in his face the image of virtue, "and the marks of a true deſcent. He alone "can reſtore the loſt glory and honour of the "nation." It was hoped upon this occaſion, that ſome of the populace would have cried out, Long live king Richard! but the audience remaining ſilent, the duke of Buckingham undertook to perſuade them, in his turn. His ſpeech was copious upon the calamities of the laſt reign, and the baſtardy of the preſent race; he ſaw only one method of ſhielding off the miſeries that threatened the ſtate, which was, to elect the protector; but he ſeemed apprehenſive that he would never be prevailed on to accept of a crown, accompanied with ſuch difficulty and danger.

danger. He next aſked his auditors, whether they would have the protector for their king; but was mortified to find that a total ſilence enſued. The mayor, who was in the ſecret, willing to relieve him in this embarraſſing ſituation, obſerved, that the citizens were not accuſtomed to be harangued by a perſon of ſuch quality, and would only give an anſwer to their recorder. This officer repeated the duke's ſpeech, but the people continuing ſtill ſilent, "This is ſtrange "obſtinacy, cried the duke; we only require of "you, in plain terms, to declare, whether or "not, you will have the duke of Glouceſter for "your king; as the lords and commons have "ſufficient power without your concurrence?" After all theſe efforts, ſome of the meaneſt apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's ſervants, raiſing a feeble cry of, "God "ſave king Richard!" the mob at the door, a deſpicable claſs of people, ever pleaſed with novelty, repeated the cry, and, throwing up their caps, repeated, a Richard! a Richard!

In this manner the duke took the advantage of this faint approbation; and the next day, at the head of the mayor and aldermen, went to wait upon the protector, at Baynard's Caſtle, with offers of the crown. When Richard was told that a great multitude was waiting at the door, with his uſual hypocriſy he appeared to the crowd in a gallery between two biſhops, and at firſt ſeemed quite ſurpriſed at ſuch a concourſe of people. But when he was informed that their buſineſs was to offer him the crown, he declared againſt accepting it; alleging his love for the late king, his brother, his affection for the children under his care, and his own inſufficiency.

Bukingham ſeeming diſpleaſed with this anſwer, muttered ſome words to himſelf, but at length plainly told him, "That it was needleſs to re-"fuſe, for the people were bent on making "him king; that they had now proceeded too "far to recede; and therefore, in caſe of his re-"fuſal, were determined to offer the crown "where it would meet a more ready acceptance." This was a reſolution which the protector's tenderneſs for his people would not ſuffer him to ſee effected. "I perceive, cried he, in a modeſt "tone, that the kingdom is reſolved to load me "with preferments, unequal to my abilities or "my choice; yet, ſince it is my duty to obey the "dictates of a free people, I will, though re-"luctantly, accept their petition. I, therefore, "from this moment, enter upon the government "of England and France, with a reſolution to "defend the one, and ſubdue the other." The crowd being thus diſmiſſed, each man returned home, pondering upon the proceedings of the day; and making ſuch remarks as paſſion, intereſt, or party might ſuggeſt.

CHAP.



CHAP. XXI.

RICHARD III.

ONE crime ever draws on another, juſtice will revolt againſt fraud, and uſurpation requires ſecurity. As ſoon, therefore, as Richard was ſeated upon the throne, he ſent the governor of the Tower orders to put the two young princes to death; but this brave man, whoſe name was Brackenbury, refuſed to be made the inſtrument of a tyrant's will, and ſubmiſſively anſwered, that he knew not how to embrue his hands in innocent blood. A fit inſtrument, however, was not long wanting; ſir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered A D 1

to reſign to him the keys for one night. Tyrrel chuſing three aſſociates, Slater, Dighton, and Foreſt, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber, where the princes were lodged; and ſending in the aſſaſſins, he bid them execute their commiſſion, while he ſtaid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a ſound ſleep; after ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhowed their naked bodies to Tyrrel; who ordered them to be buried at the ſtair-foot, deep in the ground, under an heap of ſtones. Theſe facts appeared in the ſucceeding reign, being confeſſed by the perpetrators; who, however, eſcaped puniſhment for the crime. The bodies of the princes were afterwards ſought for by Henry VII. but could not be found; however, in the reign of Charles II. the bones of two perſons, anſwering their age, were diſcovered in the very ſpot where it was ſaid they were buried: they were interred in a marble monument, by order of the king, in Weſtminſter Abbey.

Richard had now waded through every obſtacle to the throne; and began, after the manner of all uſurpers, to ſtrengthen his ill-got power by foreign connections. Senſible alſo of the influence of pageantry and ſhow upon the minds of the people, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned firſt at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavoured to ſecure by great indulgencies; and his friends, by beſtowing rewards on them, in proportion as they were inſtrumental in placing him on the throne.

But while he thus endeavoured to eſtabliſh his power, he found it threatened on a quarter where he leaſt expected an attack. The duke of Buck-

ingham, who had been too inſtrumental in placing him on the throne, though he had received the greateſt rewards for his ſervices, yet continued to wiſh for more. He had already ſeveral poſts and governments conferred upon him; but that nobleman, whoſe avarice was inſatiable, making a demand of the confiſcated lands in Hereford, to which his family had an ancient claim, Richard, either reluctantly complied with his requeſt, or but partially indulged it, ſo that a coolneſs ſoon enſued; and no ſooner had Buckingham ſuppoſed himſelf injured, than he reſolved to dethrone a monarch, whoſe title was founded in injuſtice. At firſt, however, this aſpiring ſubject remained in doubt, whether he ſhould put up for the crown himſelf, or ſet up another; but the latter reſolution prevailing, he determined to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, who was at that time an exile in Bretagne, and was conſidered as the only ſurviving branch of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was detained in a kind of honourable cuſtody by the duke of Bretagne. He was one of thoſe who had the good fortune to eſcape the numerous maſſacres of the preceding reigns; but as he was a deſcendant of John of Gaunt, by the female line, he was for that reaſon obnoxious to thoſe in power. He had long lived in exile; and was, at one time, delivered up to the ambaſſadors of Edward, who were preparing to carry him over to England, when the prince, who delivered him, repented of what he had done, and took him from the ambaſſadors juſt as they were leading him on ſhip-board. This was the youth on whom the duke of Buckingham caſt his eye, to ſucceed to the crown,

and a negotiation was begun between them for that purpoſe. Henry's hereditary right to the throne was doubtful, but the crimes of the uſurper ſerved to ſtrengthen his claims. However, ſtill further to improve his title, a marriage was projected between him and the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of the late king, and the queen dowager was prevailed on heartily to accede to the meaſure.

Richard, in the mean time, either informed by his creatures, or kept diſtruſtful by conſcious guilt, began to ſuſpect Buckingham's fidelity; and the ſecret informations which he daily received, left him no room to doubt of the truth of his ſuſpicions. Impreſſed with this jealouſy, he formed a reſolution of ſending for him to court; and the duke's refuſing to obey the ſummons confirmed him in his fears. But he ſoon had the plaineſt proofs of Buckingham's enmity, intelligence arriving that this nobleman was at the head of a large body of men in arms, and marching towards the weſtern ſhore. Richard, whoſe courage no danger could allay, immediately put himſelf in a poſture of defence, by levying ſome troops in the North, and prepared to meet the inſurgents with his uſual expedition. But fortune ſeemed his friend on the preſent occaſion, and rendered all his preparations unneceſſary. As Buckingham was advancing by haſty marches towards Glouceſter, where he deſigned to croſs the Severn, he found that river ſwoln to ſuch a degree, that the country on both ſides was deluged, and even the tops of ſome hills were covered with water. This inundation continued for ten days; during which Buckingham's army, compoſed of Welchmen,

could

could neither paſs the river, nor find ſubſiſtence on their own ſide; they were therefore obliged to diſperſe, and return home, notwithſtanding all the duke's efforts to prolong their ſtay. In this helpleſs ſituation the duke, after a ſhort deliberation, took refuge at the houſe of one Baniſter, who had been his ſervant, and who had received repeated obligations from his family. But the wicked ſeldom find, as they ſeldom exert, friendſhip. Baniſter, unable to reſiſt the temptation of a large reward that was ſet upon the duke's head, betrayed him to the ſheriff of Shropſhire; who, ſurrounding the houſe with armed men, ſeiſed the duke, in the habit of a peaſant, and conducted him to Saliſbury, where he was inſtantly tried, condemned, and executed, according to the ſummary method practiſed in thoſe ages.

In the mean time the earl of Richmond landed in England; but finding his hopes fruſtrated by the failure of Buckingham, he haſtily ſet ſail again, and returned to Bretagne. Thus every circumſtance ſeemed to promiſe Richard a long poſſeſſion of the crown: however, the authority of parliament was ſtill wanting to give ſanction to the injuſtice of his proceedings; but in thoſe times of ignorance and guilt that was eaſily procured. An act was paſſed, confirming the illegitimacy of Edward's children; an act of attainder alſo was confirmed againſt Henry, earl of Richmond; and all the uſurper's wiſhes ſeemed to be the aim of their deliberations. One thing was wanting to complete Richard's ſecurity, which was the death of his rival; to effect this, he ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Bretagne, ſeemingly upon buſineſs of a public nature; but,

in reality, to treat with Landois, that prince's miniſter, to deliver up Richmond. The miniſter was baſe enough to enter into the negotiation; but Richmond, having had timely notice, fled away into France, and juſt reached the confines of that kingdom, when he found that he was purſued by thoſe who intended giving him up to this rival.

Richard thus finding his attempts to ſeiſe his enemy's perſon unſucceſsful, became every day more cruel, as his power grew more precarious. Among thoſe who chiefly excited his jealouſy, was the lord Stanley, who was married to the widow of Edward; and to keep him ſtedfaſt in obedience, he took his ſon as an hoſtage for the father's behaviour. He now alſo reſolved to get rid of his preſent queen, Anne, to make room for a match with his niece, the princeſs Elizabeth, by whoſe alliance he hoped to cover the injuſtice of his claims. The lady, whom he deſired to get rid of, was the widow of the young prince of Wales, whom he had murdered with his own hands at Tewkeſbury; and it is no ſlight indication of the barbarity of the times, that the widow ſhould accept for her ſecond lord, the murderer of her former huſband. But ſhe was now rewarded for her former inhumanity, as Richard treated her with ſo much pride and indifference, that ſhe died with grief, according to his ardent expectation. However, his wiſhes were not crowned with ſucceſs in his applications to Elizabeth: the mother, indeed, was not averſe to the match; but the princeſs herſelf treated his vile addreſſes with contempt and deteſtation.

Amidſt

Amidſt the perplexity cauſed by this unexpected refuſal, he received information, that the earl of Richmond was once more making preparations to land in England, and aſſert his claims to the crown. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken poſt at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and had given commiſſions to ſeveral of his creatures, to oppoſe the enemy wherever he ſhould land. The account received of Richmond's preparations were not ungrounded; he ſet out from Harfleur in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thouſand perſons; and, after a voyage of ſix days, arrived at Milford-Haven, in Wales, where he landed without oppoſition. Sir Rice ap Thomas, and ſir Walter Herbert, who were intruſted to oppoſe him in Wales, were both in his intereſts; the one immediately deſerted to him, and the other made but a feeble oppoſition. Upon news of this deſcent, Richard, who was poſſeſſed of courage and military conduct, his only virtues, inſtantly reſolved to meet his antagoniſt, and decide their mutual pretenſions by a battle. Richmond, on the other hand, being reinforced by ſir Thomas Bourchier, ſir Walter Hungerford, and others, to the number of about ſix thouſand, boldly advanced with the ſame intention; and in a few days, both armies drew near Boſworth field, to determine a conteſt that had now for more than forty years filled the kingdom with civil commotions, and deluged its plains with blood.

The army of Richard was above double that of Henry; but the chief confidence of the latter lay in the friendſhip and ſecret aſſurances of lord Stanley, who, with a body of ſeven thouſand

men,

men, hovered near the field of battle, and declined engaging on either ſide.

Richard perceiving his enemy advance, drew up his army, conſiſting of about thirteen thouſand men, in order of battle; he gave the command of the van-guard to the duke of Norfolk, while he led the main body himſelf, with the crown on his head, deſigning by this either to inſpire the enemy with awe, or to render himſelf conſpicuous to his own army. The van of Richmond's army, conſiſting of archers, was commanded by John, earl of Oxford; ſir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, ſir John Savage the left; while the earl himſelf, accompanied by his uncle, the earl of Pembroke, placed himſelf in the main body. Lord Stanley, in the mean time, poſted himſelf on one flank, between the two armies, while his brother took his ſtation on the other, which was oppoſite. Richard ſeeing him thus in a ſituation equally convenient for joining either army, immediately ſent him orders to unite himſelf to the main body, which the other refuſing, he gave inſtant orders for beheading lord Stanley's ſon, whom he ſtill kept as an hoſtage. He was perſuaded, however, to poſtpone the execution till after the fight; and attending to the more important tranſactions of the day, he directed the trumpets to ſound to battle. The two armies approaching each other, the battle began with a ſhower of arrows, and ſoon the adverſe fronts were ſeen cloſing. This was what lord Stanley had for ſome time expected, who immediately profiting by the occaſion, joined the line of Richmond, and thus turned the fortune of the day. This meaſure, ſo unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportioned

effect

effect on both armies; it inſpired unuſual courage into Henry's ſoldiers, and threw Richard's into confuſion. The intrepid tyrant, perceiving the danger of his ſituation, ſpurred his horſe into the thickeſt of the fight, while Richmond quitted his ſtation behind, to encourage his troops by his preſence in the front. Richard perceiving him, was deſirous of ending all by one blow; and with irreſiſtible fury flew through thouſands to attack him. He ſlew ſir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard bearer, who attempted to ſtop his career. Sir John Cheyne having taken Brandon's place, was thrown by him to the ground. Richmond, in the mean time, ſtood firm to oppoſe him; but they were ſeparated by the interpoſing crowd. Richard, thus diſappointed, went, by his preſence, to inſpire his troops at another quarter; but at length perceiving his army every where yielding or flying, and now finding that all was gone, he ruſhed with a loud ſhout into the midſt of the enemy, and there met a better death than his crimes and cruelties deſerved. After the battle his body was found ſtripped among an heap of ſlain, covered over with wounds, and the eyes frightfully ſtaring. In this manner it was thrown acroſs a horſe, the head hanging down on one ſide and the legs on the other, and thus carried to Leiceſter. It lay there two days expoſed to public view, and then was buried without farther ceremony.

Richard's crown being found by one of Henry's ſoldiers on the field of battle, it was immediately placed upon the head of the conqueror, while the whole army, as if inſpired with one voice, cried out, "Long live king Henry!"

Thus

Thus ended the bloody reign of Richard; and by his death the race of the Plantagenet kings, who had been in poſſeſſion of the crown during the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years, became extinct. Thus ended alſo the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, by which moſt of the ancient families of the kingdom were extinguiſhed, and more than an hundred thouſand men loſt their lives, either by the ſword or the executioner.

Theſe diſſenſions had, for ſome time, reduced the kingdom to a ſtate of ſavage barbarity. Laws, arts, and commerce, which had before emitted ſome feeble gleams, were entirely neglected for the practice of arms; and to be a conqueror was ſufficient, in the eyes of the brutal people, to ſtand for every other virtue. The Engliſh had as yet but little idea of legal ſubordination; nor could they give any applauſe to thoſe who attempted to cultivate the arts of peace, the whole of their ſtudy and education being turned for war. The ferocity of the people to each other was incredible. However, the women, whatever part they took in the diſturbances of the government, were exempted from capital puniſhments; nor were they ever put to death, except when convicted of witchcraft or poiſoning. As for the clergy, they were entirely diſtinct from the laity, both in cuſtoms, laws, and learning. They were governed by the code of civil law, drawn up in the times of Juſtinian; while the laity were held by the common law, which had been traditional from times immemorial in the country. The clergy, whatever we may be told to the contrary, underſtood and wrote Latin fluently; while the laity, on the other hand, underſtood nothing of Latin,

But

but applied themſelves wholly to the French language, when they aſpired at the character of a polite education. The clergy, as a body diſtinct from the ſtate, little intereſted themſelves in civil polity; and perhaps they were not diſpleaſed to ſee the laity, whom they conſidered leſs as fellow-ſubjects than rivals for power, weakening themſelves by continual conteſts, and thus rendering themſelves more eaſily manageable. In ſhort, as there was no knowledge of government among the individuals, but what totally reſulted from power, the ſtate was like a feveriſh conſtitution, ever ſubject to ferment and diſorder. France, indeed, had ſerved for ſome time as a drain for the peccant humours; but when that was no longer open, the diſorders of the conſtitution ſeemed daily to increaſe, and vented themſelves at laſt in all the horrors of a long continued civil war.

CHAP.



CHAP. XXII.

HENRY VII

A D. 1485 AFTER having preſented the reader with a frightful train of treaſons, ſtratagems, murders, and uſurpations, we are beginning to emerge into a time of greater importance and glory. We are now to view the conduct of a monarch who, if not the beſt, was at leaſt the moſt uſeful of any that ever ſate upon the Engliſh throne. We are now to behold a nation of tumult reduced to civil ſubordination; an inſolent and factious ariſtocracy humbled, wiſe laws enacted, commerce reſtored, and the peaceful arts made amiable to a people, for whom war alone here-

tofore

tofore had charms. Hitherto we have only beheld the actions of a barbarous nation, obeying with reluctance, and governed by caprice; but henceforward we may diſcover more refined politics, and better concerted ſchemes; human wiſdom, as if rouſed from her lethargy of thirteen hundred years, exerting all her efforts to ſubdue the natural ferocity of the people, and to introduce permanent felicity.

Henry's firſt care, upon coming to the throne, was to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth; and thus he blended the intereſts of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, ſo that ever after they were incapable of diſtinction. Nevertheleſs, being apprehenſive that the people might ſuppoſe he claimed the crown in right of this union, he deferred the queen's coronation till two years after, by which he made the priority of his own claim inconteſtable. His reign alſo happily commenced with an obedience to the forms of law, of which England had hitherto ſeen but few examples. An act had been paſſed in the preceding reign for the attainder of his friends and followers, which continued ſtill in force; and the names of many members of that houſe, by which it was to be repealed, were expreſsly mentioned in the attainder. To ſuffer theſe to join in repealing that ſtatute, would be admitting them as judges in their own cauſe; but to this Henry prudently objected, obliging them to leave the houſe, till an act was paſſed for reverſing their attainder.

Before this reign, it had been uſual with any perſon who was attainted, after his execution, to give away his eſtates to any of the court favourites that happened to be moſt in confidence.

Henry wiſely perceived that this ſeverity had two bad effects: the cruelty of the meaſure in the firſt place excited indignation; and it alſo made the favourite too powerful for ſubjection. In order to remedy theſe inconveniences, he made a law to deprive thoſe who were found in arms of their eſtates and effects, and ſequeſtered them for the benefit of the crown.

A great part of the miſeries of his predeceſſors proceeded from their poverty, which was moſtly occaſioned by riot and diſſipation. Henry ſaw that money alone could turn the ſcale of power in his favour; and therefore hoarded up all the confiſcations of his enemies with the utmoſt frugality. From hence he has been accuſed by hiſtorians of avarice; but that avarice which tends to ſtrengthen government, and repreſs ſedition, is not only excuſable, but praiſe-worthy. Liberality in a king is too often a miſ-placed virtue. What is thus given is generally extorted from the induſtrious and needy, to be laviſhed as rewards on the rich, the inſidious, and the fawning, upon the ſycophants of a court, or the improvers of luxurious refinement. Henry ſhowed himſelf very different from his predeceſſors in theſe reſpects, as he gave very few rewards to the courtiers about his perſon; and none, except the needy, ſhared his benefactions. He releaſed all priſoners for debt in his dominions, whoſe debts did not amount to forty ſhillings, and paid their creditors from the royal coffers. Thus his economy rendered him not only uſeful to the poor, but enabled him to be juſt to his own creditors, either abroad or at home. Thoſe ſums which he borrowed from the city of London, or any of his ſubjects, he repaid at the

appointed

appointed day with the utmoſt punctuality; and in proportion as he was eſteemed in his own dominions, he became reſpectable abroad.

With regard to the king's ſervants, he was himſelf the only acting miniſter; and as for the reſt, he did not chuſe his under agents from among the nobility, as had been moſt uſual; but pitched upon John Morton, and Richard Fox, two clergymen, perſons of induſtry, vigilance, and capacity, to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and ſecret councils. They had ſhared with him in all his former dangers and diſtreſſes; and he now took care that they ſhould participate in his good fortune; the one being ſoon after created biſhop of Ely, the other biſhop of Exeter. He perhaps ſuppoſed, that as clergymen were naturally more dependent on him than the nobility, ſo they would be more ſubmiſſive to his commands, and more active in their ſervices.

Immediately after his marriage with Elizabeth, he iſſued a general pardon to all ſuch as choſe to accept it; but thoſe lords who had been the favourites of the laſt reign, and long accuſtomed to turbulence, refuſed his proffered tenderneſs, and flew to arms. Lord Lovel, together with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, placed themſelves at the head of this inſurrection; but Henry ſent the duke of Bedford to oppoſe them, with orders to try what might be done by offering a pardon, before he made any attempts to reduce them. The duke punctually obeyed his inſtructions; and a general promiſe of pardon was made to the rebels, which had a greater effect on the leaders than on their followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterpriſe that exceeded his courage and capacity, was ſo terrified with the fears

of deſertion among his troops, that he ſuddenly withdrew himſelf; and after lurking ſome time in Lancaſhire, made his eſcape into Flanders, where he was protected by the ducheſs of Burgundy. The Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but it appearing that this church had not the privilege of giving protection, they were taken thence; the eldeſt Stafford was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he was miſled by his brother, obtained his pardon. The rebel army, now without a leader, ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, and were permitted to diſperſe without farther puniſhment.

But the people were become ſo turbulent and factious by a long courſe of civil war, that no governor could rule them, nor any king pleaſe; ſo that one rebellion ſeemed extinguiſhed only to give riſe to another. The king in the beginning of his reign, had given orders that the ſon of the duke of Clarence, whom we have already mentioned as being drowned in a wine-butt, ſhould be taken from the priſon where he had been confined by Richard, and brought to the Tower. This unfortunate youth, who was ſtyled the earl of Warwick, was by long confinement, ſo unacquainted with the world, that, as we are told, he could not tell the difference between a duck and an hen. However, the unhappy youth, harmleſs as he was, was made an inſtrument to deceive the people. There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a prieſt, who poſſeſſing ſome ſubtlety, and more raſhneſs, trained up one Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, to counterfeit the perſon of the earl of Warwick; and he was previouſly inſtructed by his tutor to talk

upon many facts and occurrences, as happening to him in the court of Edward. But as the impoſtor was not calculated to bear a cloſe inſpection, it was thought proper to ſhow him firſt at a diſtance; and Ireland was judged the fitteſt theatre for him to ſupport his aſſumed character. The plot unfolded to their wiſhes; Simnel was received with the utmoſt joy, and proclaimed king of Ireland; he was conducted by the magiſtrates and the populace of Dublin with great pomp to the Caſtle, where he was treated conformably to his ſuppoſed birth and diſtinction.

Henry could not help feeling more uneaſineſs at this bare-faced impoſture than it ſeemed to deſerve; but the penetrating monarch ſaw that his mother-in-law was at the bottom of it; and he dreaded the fierce inquietude of her temper. He was reſolved therefore to take the advice of his council upon this occaſion; and they, after due deliberation, determined upon confining the old queen to a monaſtery; but, to wipe off the imputation of treaſon from one ſo nearly allied to the crown, it was given out, that ſhe was thus puniſhed for having formerly delivered up the princeſs, her daughter, to Richard. The people as uſual murmured, at the ſeverity of her treatment; but the king unmindful of their idle clamours, perſiſted in his reſolution; and ſhe remained in confinement till her death, which did not happen till ſeveral years after. The next meaſure was to ſhow Warwick to the people. In conſequence of this he was taken from the Tower, and led through the principal ſtreets of London, after which he was conducted in ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, where great numbers were aſſembled to ſee him. Still, however, they proceeded

in Dublin to honour their pretended monarch; and he was crowned with great ſolemnity, in preſence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the other officers of ſtate. Such impoſitions upon the people were very frequent at that time, in ſeveral parts of Europe. Lorrain, Naples, and Portugal, had their impoſtors, who continued to deceive for a long time without detection. In fact, the inhabitants of every country were ſo much confined within their own limits, and knew ſo little of what was paſſing in the reſt of the world, that any diſtant ſtory might be propagated, how improbable ſoever. In this manner king Simnel, being now joined by lord Lovel, and one or two lords more of the diſcontented party, reſolved to paſs over into England; and accordingly landed in Lancaſhire, from whence he marched to York, expecting the country would riſe and join him as he marched along. But in this he was deceived; the people, averſe to join a body of German and Iriſh troops, by whom he was ſupported, and kept in awe by the king's reputation, remained in tranquillity, or gave all their aſſiſtance to the royal cauſe. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, a diſaffected lord, to whom the command of the rebel army was given, finding no hopes but in ſpeedy victory, was determined to bring the conteſt to a ſhort iſſue. The oppoſite armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was more bloody, and more obſtinately diſputed, than could have been expected from the inequality of their forces. But victory at length declared in favour of the king, and it proved deciſive. Lord Lincoln periſhed in the field of battle; lord Lovel was never more heard of, and it was ſup-

 poſed

poſed he ſhared the ſame fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken priſoner; and four thouſand of the common men fell in battle. Simon being a prieſt could not be tried by the civil power, and was only committed to cloſe confinement. Simnel was too contemptible to excite the king's fears or reſentment; he was pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which mean employment he died.

Things being thus quietly ſettled at home, Henry began to turn his thoughts towards his continental connections, and to eſtabliſh ſome degree of underſtanding between him and the neighbouring ſtates around him. He was too wiſe a prince, not to perceive the fatality of conqueſts upon the continent, which could at beſt produce no other reputation than the empty one of military glory. Yet, while he internally deſpiſed ſuch pernicious triumphs, he was obliged in order to gain popularity, to countenance them. He therefore, frequently boaſted that he was determined to raviſh his kingdom of France from the uſurpers, who had long poſſeſſed it; and that he would lay the whole country in blood. But theſe were the diſtant threats of a crafty politician; there was nothing more diſtant from his heart. As far as negotiations went, he did all in his power to keep the intereſts of that kingdom ſo nearly balanced, as to prevent any from growing too powerful; but as for ſuccours of men and money, he too well knew the value of both to laviſh them as his predeceſſors had done, upon ſuch fruitleſs projects.

About this time the nobles of Bretagne, being diſguſted with their miniſter, Peter Landois,

roſe in conſpiracy againſt him, and put him to
A. D. 1488. death. Willing to defend one crime by another, they called in the aid of the French monarch to protect them from the reſentment of their own ſovereign. The French monarch quickly obeyed the call; but inſtead of only bringing the nobles aſſiſtance, over-ran and took poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the country. The aid of Henry was implored by the diſtreſſed Bretons; but this monarch appeared more willing to aſſiſt them by negotiations than by arms: though he determined to maintain a pacific conduct, as far as the ſituation of his affairs would permit, he knew too well the warlike diſpoſition of his ſubjects, and their deſires to engage in any ſcheme that promiſed the humiliation of France. He reſolved, therefore, to take advantage of this propenſity; and to draw ſome ſupplies of money from the people, on pretence of giving aſſiſtance to the duke of Bretagne. He accordingly ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, and eaſily perſuaded them to grant him a conſiderable ſupply. But money was, at that time, more eaſily granted than levied in England. A new inſurrection began in Yorkſhire, the people reſiſting the commiſſioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The earl of Northumberland attempted to enforce the king's command; but the populace, being by this taught to believe that he was the adviſer of their oppreſſions, flew to arms, attacked his houſe, and put him to death. The mutineers did not ſtop there; but by the advice of one John à Chambre, a ſeditious fellow of mean birth, they choſe ſir John Egremont for their leader, and prepared themſelves for a vigorous reſiſtance. The king, upon hearing this

raſh-

raſh proceeding, immediately levied a force, which he put under the earl of Surry; and this nobleman, encountering the rebels, diſſipated the tumult, and took their leader priſoner. John à Chambre was ſhortly after executed; but ſir John Egremont fled to the court of the ducheſs of Burgundy, the uſual retreat of all who were obnoxious to government in England.

As Henry had gone thus far in preparations for a war with France, he ſuppoſed that it would be too flagrant an impoſition upon the credulity of the nation, not to put a part of his threats in execution. France was by this time poſſeſſed of all Bretagne; and a marriage had been lately concluded between the French monarch and the ducheſs of the laſt named territory. This acceſſion of power, in a rival ſtate, was formidable not only to Henry, but to Europe. He therefore prepared to make a deſcent upon France; and accordingly landed at Calais with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford. But notwithſtanding this appearance of an hoſtile diſpoſition, there had been ſecret advances made towards a peace three months before, and commiſſioners had been appointed to treat on the terms. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable poſſeſſion of Bretagne an equivalent for any ſum, readily agreed to the propoſals made him. He engaged to pay Henry near two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, as a reimburſement for the expenſes of this expedition; and he ſtipulated to pay a yearly penſion

to him, and his heirs, of twenty-five thouſand crowns more.

A. D. 1492. Henry, having thus made an advantageous peace, had reaſon to flatter himſelf with the proſpect of long tranquillity, but he was miſtaken; he had ſtill enemies who found means to embroil him in freſh difficulties and dangers. One would have imagined, that from the ill ſucceſs of Simnel's impoſture, few would be willing to embark another of a ſimilar kind; however, the old ducheſs of Burgundy, rather irritated than diſcouraged by the failure of her paſt enterpriſes, was determined to diſturb that government which ſhe could not ſubvert. She firſt procured a report to be ſpread, that the young duke of York, ſaid to have been murdered in the Tower, was ſtill living; and finding the rumour greedily received, ſhe ſoon produced a young man, who aſſumed his name and character. The perſon pitched upon to ſuſtain this part, was one Oſbeck or Warbeck, the ſon of a converted Jew, who had been in England during the reign of Edward IV. where he had this ſon named Peter, but corrupted, after the Flemiſh manner, into Peterkin or Perkin. It was by ſome believed that Edward, among his other amorous adventures, had a ſecret correſpondence with Warbeck's wife, which might account for a ſtriking reſemblance between young Perkin and that monarch. Perkin following the fortunes of his father, had travelled for many years from place to place; ſo that his birth and circumſtances became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the moſt diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures might have contributed to aſſiſt the natural ſagacity, and verſatility of his diſ-

poſition;

poſition; as he ſeemed to be a youth capable of ſuſtaining any part or any aſſumed character. The ducheſs of Burgundy found this youth entirely ſuited to her purpoſes; and her leſſons, inſtructing him to perſonate the duke of York, were eaſily learned, and ſtrongly retained by a youth of ſuch quick apprehenſion. In ſhort, his graceful air, his courtly addreſs, his eaſy manners, and elegant converſation, were capable impoſing upon all but ſuch as were conſcious the impoſture.

The kingdom of Ireland, which ſtill retained its attachments to the houſe of York, was pitched upon as the proper place for Perkin's firſt appearance, as it before had favoured that of Simnel. He landed at Cork; and immediately aſſuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him numerous partiſans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party; he diſperſed every where the ſtrange intelligence of his eſcape from his uncle Richard's cruelty; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general ſubject of their diſcourſe, and even the object of their favour. From Ireland his fame ſoon ſpread over into France; and Charles ſent Perkin an invitation to his court, where he received him with all the marks of conſideration that were due to his ſuppoſed dignity. The youth, no way dazzled by his elevation, ſupported the prepoſſeſſion which was ſpread abroad in his favour; ſo that England itſelf ſoon began to give credit to his pretenſions; while ſir George Nevil, ſir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more went to Paris to pay him homage, and offer him ſervices.

Upon

Upon the peace being ſhortly after concluded between France and England, the impoſtor was obliged to make his reſidence at the court of his old patroneſs, the ducheſs of Burgundy, and the interview between theſe conſcious deceivers was truly ridiculous. The ducheſs affected the utmoſt ignorance of his pretenſions, and even put on the appearance of diſtruſt, having, as ſhe ſaid, been already deceived by Simnel. She ſeemed to examine all his aſſertions with the moſt ſcrupulous diffidence; put many particular queſtions to him, affected aſtoniſhment at his anſwers, and at laſt, after long and ſevere ſcrutiny, burſt out into joy and admiration at his delivery, acknowledging him as her nephew, as the true image of Edward, and legitimate ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne. She immediately aſſigned him an equipage ſuitable to his pretenſions, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; and on all occaſions honoured him with the appellation of the White Roſe of England.

The Engliſh, ever ready to revolt, gave credit to all theſe abſurdities; while the young man's prudence, converſation, and deportment, ſerved to confirm what their diſaffection and credulity had begun. All ſuch as were diſguſted with the king, prepared to join him, but particularly thoſe that were formerly Henry's favourites, and had contributed to place him on the throne, thinking their ſervices could never be ſufficiently repaid, now privately abetted the impoſture, and became heads of the conſpiracy. Theſe were joined by numbers of the inferior claſs, ſome greedy of novelty, ſome blindly attached to their leaders, and ſome induced by their deſperate fortunes to wiſh for a change.

Among

Among thoſe who ſecretly abetted the cauſe of Perkin, were lord Fitzwalter, ſir Simon Mountfort, ſir Thomas Thwaits, and ſir Robert Clifford. But the perſon of the greateſt weight, and the moſt dangerous oppoſition, was ſir Willam Stanley, the lord chamberlain, and brother to the famous lord Stanley who had contributed to place Henry on the throne. This perſonage, either moved by a blind credulity, or more probably by a reſtleſs ambition, entered into a regular conſpiracy againſt the king; and a correſpondence was ſettled between the malcontents in England and thoſe in Flanders.

While the plot was thus carrying on in all quarters, Henry was not inattentive to the deſigns of his enemies. He ſpared neither labour nor expenſe to detect the falſehood of the pretender to his crown; and was equally aſſiduous in finding out who were his ſecret abettors. For this purpoſe he diſperſed his ſpies through all Flanders, and brought over, by large bribes, ſome of thoſe whom he knew to be in the enemies intereſts. Among theſe, ſir Robert Clifford was the moſt remarkable, both for his conſequence, and the confidence with which he was truſted. From this perſon Henry learned the whole of Perkin's birth and adventures, together with the names of all thoſe who had ſecretly combined to aſſiſt him. The king was pleaſed with the diſcovery; but the more truſt he gave to his ſpies, the higher reſentment did he feign againſt them.

At firſt he was ſtruck with indignation at the ingratitude of many of thoſe about him; but concealing his reſentment for a proper opportunity, he, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, arreſted Fitzwalter, Mountfort, and Thwaits, together with

with William Danbery, Robert Radcliffe, Thomas Creſſener, and Thomas Aſtwood. All theſe were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treaſon. Mountfort, Radcliffe, and Danbery, were immediately executed; the reſt received pardon. But the principal delinquent yet remained to be puniſhed, whoſe ſtation, as lord chamberlain, and whoſe connections with many of the principal men in the kingdom, ſeemed to exempt him from cenſure. To effect this, Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to accuſe Stanley, in perſon, which he did, to the ſeeming aſtoniſhment of all preſent. Henry affected to receive the intelligence as falſe and incredible; but Clifford perſiſting in his accuſation, Stanley was committed to cuſtody, and ſoon after examined before the council. Finding his guilt but too clearly proved, he did not attempt to conceal it, ſuppoſing that an open confeſſion might ſerve as an atonement, or truſting to his former ſervices for pardon and ſecurity. In this he was miſtaken; after a delay of ſix weeks, during which time the king affected to deliberate upon his conduct, he was brought to trial, when he was condemned, and ſhortly after beheaded. Through the whole of this reign, the king ſeemed to make a diſtinction in the crimes of thoſe who conſpired againſt him: whenever the conſpirator took up arms againſt him, from a conſcientious adherence to principle, and a love of the houſe of York, he generally found pardon; but when a love of change, or an impatience of ſubordination inſpired the attempt, the offender was ſure to be treated with the utmoſt rigour of the law.

While

While the adherents of Perkin were thus diſappointed in England, he himſelf attempted landing in Kent; the gentlemen of which county gathered in a body to oppoſe him. Their aim was to allure him on ſhore by proffers of aſſiſtance, and then ſeiſe his perſon; but the wary youth, obſerving that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be ſuppoſed in new levied forces, refuſed to commit himſelf into their hands; wherefore they ſet upon his attendants who had come a-ſhore, of whom they took a hundred and fifty priſoners. Theſe were tried and condemned, and all executed by order of the king, who was reſolved to uſe no lenity to men of ſuch deſperate fortunes.

The young adventurer finding his hopes fruſtrated in this attempt, went next to try his fortune in Scotland. In that country his luck ſeemed greater than in England. James the Fourth, the king of that country, received him with great cordiality; he was ſeduced to believe the ſtory of his birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence ſo far, as to give him in marriage lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, and a near kinſwoman of his own; a young lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty. But not content with theſe inſtances of favour, he was reſolved to attempt ſetting him on the throne of England. It was naturally expected, that upon Perkin's firſt appearance in that kingdom, all the friends of the houſe of York would riſe in his favour. Upon this ground the king of Scotland entered England with a numerous army, and proclaimed the young adventurer wherever he went. But Perkin's pretenſions, attended by repeated diſappointments, were now become ſtale,

even

even in the eyes of the populace; ſo that, contrary to expectation, none were found to ſecond his pretenſions. Being diſappointed in this, he once more returned to Edinburgh, where he continued to reſide, till, upon the concluſion of a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, he was once more obliged to leave Scotland, and to ſeek for a new protector.

In the mean time, Henry found little uneaſineſs at Perkin's irruption, as he was ſenſible it would ſerve him as a pretext to a demand for farther ſupplies from parliament, with which he knew they would readily comply. The vote was in fact eaſily enough obtained; but he found it not ſo eaſy to levy the money. The inhabitants of Cornwall were the firſt to refuſe contributing ſupplies for the ſafety of the northern parts of the kingdom, which were ſo very remote from them. Their diſcontents were further inflamed by one Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, who had long been the ſpokeſman of the multitude. To him was joined one Thomas Flammock, a lawyer; and, under the conduct of theſe two, the inſurgents paſſed through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerſet, where they were joined by Lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and reſtleſs in his temper. Thus headed, and breathing deſtruction to the king's commiſſioners, they marched with great ſpeed towards London, without, however, committing any devaſtations by the way. At length, without receiving countenance or reinforcement on their march, they pitched their camp near Eltham, not far from London. Henry, whoſe courage and intrepidity were never to be moved,

had

had ſome time before levied an army to oppoſe the Scots; and this he ordered ſouthward to ſuppreſs the Corniſh inſurrection. On other occaſions it was uſual with him to haſten to a deciſion; and it was a ſaying with him, that he only deſired to ſee his rebels; but as the preſent inſurgents behaved in an inoffenſive manner, he protracted his attack for ſome time, till at length it was begun by lord d'Aubigni, who, after ſome reſiſtance, broke, and put them to flight. Lord Audley, Flammock, and Joſeph, their leaders, were taken and executed; but the reſt, to the number of ſixteen thouſand, were diſmiſſed without further puniſhment.

In the mean time, the reſtleſs Perkin being A. D. 1497. diſmiſſed Scotland, and meeting with a very cold reception from the Flemings, who now deſired to be at peace with the Engliſh, reſolved to continue his ſcheme of oppoſition; and once more took refuge among the wilds and faſtneſſes of Ireland. Impatient, however, of an inactive life, he held a conſultation with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Aſtley, three broken tradeſmen and by their advice he reſolved to try the affections of the Corniſh men, whoſe diſcontents the king's late lenity had only contributed to inflame. Theſe were a tumultuous multitude, too ignorant for gratitude; and upon their return aſcribed the royal clemency to fear, inducing their countrymen to believe that the whole kingdom was ready to riſe to vindicate their quarrel. It was in conſequence of theſe ſuggeſtions that they determined to ſend for Perkin to put himſelf at their head; and he no ſooner made his appearance among them at Bodmin in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of

three

three thouſand men, flocked to his ſtandard. Elated with this appearance of ſucceſs, he took on him, for the firſt time, the title of Richard the Fourth, king of England; and, not to ſuffer the ſpirits of his adherents to languiſh, he led them to the gates of Exeter. Finding the inhabitants obſtinate in refuſing to admit him, and being unprovided with artillery to force an entrance, he reſolved to continue before it, until poſſeſſed of a ſufficient force to make a farther progreſs into the kingdom. In the mean time, Henry being informed of his landing and his deſigns, expreſſed great joy upon the occaſion, declaring that he ſhould now have the pleaſure of an interview with a perſon whom he long wiſhed to ſee. All the courtiers, ſenſible of Perkin's deſperate ſituation, and the general ſuſpicion there was of their own fidelity, prepared themſelves to aſſiſt the king with great alacrity. The lords d'Aubigni and Broke, the earl of Devonſhire, and the duke of Buckingham, all appeared at the head of their reſpective forces, and ſeemed eager for an opportunity of diſplaying their courage and loyalty. Perkin being informed of theſe great preparations, broke up the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. His followers by this time amounted to ſeven thouſand men, and appeared ready to defend his cauſe; but his heart failed him; and, inſtead of bringing them into the field, he privately deſerted them, and took ſanctuary in the monaſtery of Beaulieu in the New Foreſt. His wretched adherents, left to the king's mercy, found him ſtill willing to pardon; and, except a few of the ring-leaders, none were treated with capital ſeverity. The lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin,

Perkin, fell into the conqueror's hands, and was treated by him with all the lenity due to her ſex and quality. She was placed in a reputable ſtation near the perſon of the queen, and aſſigned a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed till her death. But the manner in which Perkin himſelf was to be treated appeared more doubtful. At firſt it was ſuggeſted by ſome, that he ſhould be taken forcibly from the ſanctuary to which he had fled, and made a public example; but Henry thought that milder methods would anſwer as well. He therefore employed ſome perſons to treat with Perkin, and to perſuade him, under promiſe of a pardon, to deliver himſelf up to juſtice, and to confeſs and explain all the circumſtances of his impoſture. His affairs being altogether deſperate, he embraced the king's offers, without heſitation, and quitted the ſanctuary. Henry being deſirous of ſeeing him, he was brought to court, and conducted through the ſtreets of London in a kind of mock triumph, amidſt the deriſion and inſults of the populace, which he bore with the moſt dignified reſignation. He was then compelled to ſign a confeſſion of his former life and conduct, which was printed and diſperſed throughout the nation; but it was ſo defective and contradictory, that inſtead of explaining the pretended impoſture, it left it ſtill more doubtful than before; and this youth's real pretenſions are to this very day an object of diſpute among the learned. However, though his life was granted him, he was ſtill detained in cuſtody, and keepers were appointed to watch over his conduct. But his impatience of any confinement could not be controuled; he broke looſe from his keepers, and flying to the ſanctuary of

Shyne, put himſelf in the hands of the prior of that monaſtery. He was once again prevailed on to truſt himſelf to the king's mercy; but, in order to reduce him to the loweſt ſtate of contempt, he was ſet in the ſtocks at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, and obliged to read aloud, in both places, the confeſſion which had been formerly publiſhed in his name. From this place of ſcorn he was conveyed to the Tower, where it was thought the ſtrength of his priſon would be ſufficient to reſtrain his reſtleſs active diſpoſition; but nothing could repreſs his habits of inquietude. He had inſinuated himſelf into the intimacy of four ſervants of the lieutenant of the Tower: and by their means opened a correA. D. 1499. ſpondence with the unfortunate Warwick, who had been confined there for many years before, and kept in a ſtate of utter ignorance. In all probability Perkin was permitted to enter into this correſpondence with him by the connivance of the king, who hoped that his enterpriſing genius, and inſinuating addreſs, would engage the ſimple Warwick in ſome project that would furniſh a pretext for taking away their lives, which accordingly happened. Perkin tampered with the ſervants, who, it is ſaid, agreed to murder their maſter, and thus ſecure the gates of the Tower, by which the priſoners might make their eſcape to ſome ſecure part of the kingdom.

That the danger might appear more imminent and preſſing, ſo as to juſtify the ſteps which Henry intended to take, another diſturbance was raiſed at the ſame time in Kent, where a young man, called Ralph Wilford, the ſon of a cordwainer, perſonated the earl of Warwick, under the conduct and direction of one Patrick, an Auguſtine monk,

monk, who in his ſermons exhorted the people to take arms in his favour. This friar, who had been uſed as a tool for the king's emiſſaries, was arreſted, together with his pupil; and Wilford was hanged without ceremony, but the tutor obtained his pardon. This was the prelude to the fate of Perkin, and the earl of Warwick; the former of whom was tried at Weſtminſter; and being convicted on the evidence of the ſervants of the Tower, was hanged at Tyburn with John Walter, mayor of Cork, who had conſtantly adhered to his cauſe in all the viciſſitudes of his fortune. Blewet and Aſtwood, two of the ſervants, underwent the ſame fate; but ſix other perſons, condemned as accomplices in the ſame conſpiracy were pardoned. In a few days after Perkin's execution, the wretched earl of Warwick was tried by his peers; and being convicted of high-treaſon, in conſequence of pleading guilty to the arraignment, was beheaded on Tower Hill, and in him ended the laſt male branch of the houſe of Plantagenet. The deplorable end of this innocent nobleman, and the fate of Perkin, who, notwithſtanding all that appeared againſt him, was, by the unprejudiced part of the nation, deemed the real ſon of king Edward, filled the whole kingdom with ſuch averſion to the government of king Henry, that, to throw the odium from himſelf, he was obliged to lay it to the account of his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he ſaid, ſcrupled his alliance while any prince of the houſe of York remained alive.

There had been hitherto nothing in this reign but plots, treaſons, inſurrections, impoſtures, and executions; and it is probable that Henry's

ſeverity proceeded from the continual alarms in which they held him. It is certain that no prince ever loved peace more than he; and much of the ill-will of his ſubjects aroſe from his attempts to repreſs their inclinations for war. The uſual preface to all his treaties was, "That when "Chriſt came into the world peace was ſung; "and when he went out of the world peace was "bequeathed." He had no ambition to extend his power, except only by treaties and by wiſdom: by theſe he rendered himſelf much more formidable to his neighbours than his predeceſſors had by their victories; they became terrible to their own ſubjects, he was chiefly dreaded by rival kings.

He had all along two points principally in view; one to repreſs the nobility and clergy, and the other to exalt and humaniſe the populace. From the ambition and turbulence of the former, and from the wretchedneſs and credulity of the latter, all the troubles in the former reigns had taken their original. In the feudal times, every nobleman was poſſeſſed of a certain number of ſubjects, over whom he had an abſolute power; and, upon every ſlight diſguſt, he was able to influence them to join him in his revolt or diſobedience. Henry, therefore, wiſely conſidered, that the giving theſe petty tyrants a power of ſelling their eſtates, which before this time were unalienable, would greatly weaken their intereſt. With this view he procured an act, by which the nobility were granted a power of diſpoſing of their eſtates; a law infinitely pleaſing to the commons, and not diſagreeable even to the nobles, ſince they had thus an immediate reſource for ſupplying their taſte for prodigality,

digality, and anſwering the demands of their creditors. The blow reached them in their poſterity alone; but they were too ignorant to be affected by ſuch diſtant diſtreſſes.

His next ſcheme was to prevent their giving liveries to many hundreds of their dependents, who were thus retained to ſerve their lord, and kept like the ſoldiers of a ſtanding army, to be ready at the command of their leader. By an act paſſed in this reign, none but menial ſervants were permitted to wear a livery, under ſevere penalties; and this law was enforced with the moſt punctual obſervance. The king one day paying a viſit to the earl of Oxford, was entertained by him with all poſſible ſplendour and hoſpitality. When he was ready to depart, he ſaw ranged upon both ſides a great number of men dreſſed up in very rich liveries, apparently to do him honour. The king, ſurpriſed at ſuch a number of ſervants, as he pretended to ſuppoſe them, aſked lord Oxford whether he entertained ſuch a large number of domeſtics; to which the earl, not perceiving the drift of the queſtion, replied, that they were only men whom he kept in pay to do him honour upon ſuch occaſions. At this the king ſtarted back, and ſaid, "By "my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good "cheer; but I muſt not ſuffer to have the laws "broken before my face; my attorney-general "muſt talk with you." Oxford is ſaid to have paid no leſs than fifteen thouſand marks as a compenſation for his offence.

We have already ſeen, in a thouſand inſtances, what a perverted uſe was made of monaſteries, and other places appropriated to religious wor-

ſhip, by the number of criminals who found ſanctuary and protection there. This privilege the clergy aſſumed as their undoubted right; and thoſe places of pretended ſanctity were now become the abode of murderers, robbers, and conſpirators. Witches and magicians were the only perſons that were forbid to avail themſelves of the ſecurity theſe ſanctuaries afforded; and they whoſe crimes were only fictitious, were the only people who had not the benefit of ſuch a retreat. Henry uſed all his intereſt with the pope to get theſe ſanctuaries aboliſhed; but was not able to ſucceed. All that he could procure was, that if thieves, murderers, or robbers, regiſtered as ſanctuary men, ſhould ſally out, and commit freſh offences, and retreat again, in ſuch caſes they might be taken out of the ſanctuary, and delivered up to juſtice.

Henry was not remiſs in abridging the pope's power, while at the ſame time he profeſſed the utmoſt ſubmiſſion to his commands, and the greateſt reſpect for the clergy. The pope at one time was ſo far impoſed upon by his ſeeming attachment to the church, that he even invited him to renew the cruſades for recovering the Holy Land. Henry's anſwer deſerves to be remembered. He aſſured his holineſs that no prince in Chriſtendom would be more forward to undertake ſo glorious and neceſſary an expedition; but as his dominions lay very diſtant from Conſtantinople, it would be better to apply to the kings of France and Spain for their aſſiſtance; and in the mean time he would go to their aid himſelf, as ſoon as all the differences between the Chriſtian princes ſhould be brought to an end.

This

This was at once a polite refusal, and an oblique reproach.

But while he thus employed his power in lowering the influence of the nobles and clergy, he was using every art to extend the privileges of the people. In former reigns they were sure to suffer on whatever side they fought, when they were unsuccessful. This rendered each party desperate in a declared civil war, as no hopes of pardon remained, and consequently terrible slaughters were seen to ensue. He therefore procured an act, by which it was established, that no person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the king for the time being, or, in other words, the sovereign who should be then actually in possession of the throne. This excellent statute served to repress the desire of civil war, as several would naturally take arms in defence of that side on which they were certain of losing nothing by a defeat; and numbers would serve to intimidate rebellion. Thus the common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to become industrious for their support. The nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilised species of emulation; and endeavoured to excel in the splendour and elegance of their equipages, houses, and tables. In fact, the king's greatest efforts were directed to promote trade and commerce, because this naturally introduces a spirit of liberty among the people, and disengaged them from all dependence, except upon the laws and the king. Before this great æra, all our towns owed their original to some strong castle in the neighbour-

hood, where ſome powerful lord generally reſided. Theſe were at once fortreſſes for protection, and priſons for all ſorts of criminals. In this caſtle there was uſually a garriſon armed and provided, depending entirely on the nobleman's ſupport and aſſiſtance. To theſe ſeats of protection, artificers, victuallers, and ſhop-keepers naturally reſorted, and ſettled on ſome adjacent ſpot to furniſh the lord and his attendants with all the neceſſaries they might require. The farmers alſo, and the huſbandmen in the neighbourhood, built their houſes there, to be protected againſt the numerous gangs of robbers, called Robertſmen, that hid themſelves in the woods by day, and infeſted the open country by night. Henry endeavoured to bring the towns from ſuch a neighbourhood, by inviting the inhabitants to a more commercial ſituation. He attempted to teach them frugality, and a juſt payment of debts, by his own example; and never once omitted the rights of the merchant, in all his treaties with foreign princes.

But it muſt not be concealed, that from a long contemplation upon the relative advantages of money, he at laſt grew into an habit of conſidering it as valuable for itſelf alone. As he grew old his avarice ſeemed to preponderate over his ambition; and the methods he took to increaſe his treaſures cannot be juſtified by his moſt ardent admirers. He had found two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, perfectly qualified to ſecond his avaricious intentions. They were both lawyers; the firſt of mean birth, brutal manners, and an unrelenting temper; the ſecond, better born, and better bred, but equally ſevere and inflexible. It was their uſual practice to commit,

commit, by indictment, such persons to prison as they intended to oppress; from whence they seldom got free, but by paying heavy fines, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees, as they were grown more hardened in oppression, the very forms of law were omitted; they determined in a summary way upon the properties of the subject, and confiscated their effects to the royal treasury. But the chief instruments of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men.

In this manner was the latter part of this active monarch's reign employed in schemes to strengthen the power of the crown, by amassing money, and extending the power of the people. He had the satisfaction about that time of completing a marriage between Arthur, the prince of Wales, and the infanta Catharine of Spain, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years. But this marriage proved, in the event, unprosperous. The young prince sickened and died in a few months after, very much regretted by the whole nation; and the princess was obliged shortly after to marry his second son Henry, who was created prince of Wales in the room of his brother. The prince himself made all the opposition which a youth of twelve years of age was capable of; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the marriage was, by the pope's dispensation, shortly after solemnised. A. D 1500.

The magnificence of these nuptials was soon after eclipsed by the accidental arrival of Philip, the

the arch-duke of Caſtile, with Joan his conſort. Theſe perſonages had embarked for Spain during the winter ſeaſon, in order to take the advantage of an invitation, which the people of that country had offered, to place them upon the Spaniſh throne. Meeting, however, with a violent tempeſt in their voyage, they were obliged to take ſhelter in Weymouth harbour, where they were honourably received by ſir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of Dorſet. The king ſoon after being
A. D. 1506. informed of their arrival, ſent in all haſte the earl of Arundel to compliment them on their ſafe eſcape; and to inform them that he intended ſhortly paying them a viſit in perſon. Philip knew that this was but a polite method of detaining him; and, for the ſake of diſpatch, he reſolved to anticipate his viſit, and to have an interview with him at Windſor. Henry received him with all the magnificence poſſible, and with all ſeeming cordiality; but was reſolved to reimburſe himſelf for the expenſe of his pageants, by advantages that would be more ſubſtantially conducive to his own intereſts, and thoſe of the nation. There had been ſome years before a plot carried on againſt him by the earl of Suffolk; for which ſir James Tyrrel and ſir James Windham had been condemned and executed, while Suffolk, the original contriver, had made his eſcape into the Low Countries, where he found protection from Philip. But he was now given up at Henry's requeſt, and being brought over to England, he was impriſoned in the Tower. A treaty of commerce was alſo agreed upon between the two ſovereigns; which was at that time

time of the greateſt benefit to England, and continues to remain as the ground-work of all other commercial treaties to this day.

Henry having thus ſeen England in a great meaſure civiliſed by his endeavours, his people pay their taxes without conſtraint, the nobles confeſſing a juſt ſubordination, the laws alone inflicting puniſhment, the towns beginning to live independent of the powerful, commerce every day increaſing, the ſpirit of faction extinguiſhed, and foreigners either fearing England or ſeeking its alliance, he began to perceive the approaches of his end. He then reſolved to reconcile himſelf to heaven; and by diſtributing alms, founding religious houſes, and granting a general pardon to all his ſubjects, to make an atonement for the errors of his reign. It was in this diſpoſition that he died with the gout in his ſtomach, having lived fifty-two years and reigned twenty-three. Since the times of Alfred, England had not ſeen ſuch another king. He rendered his ſubjects powerful and happy, and wrought a greater change in the manners of the people than it was poſſible to ſuppoſe could be effected in ſo ſhort a time. If he had any fault that deſerves to be marked with reproach, it was that, having begun his reign with œconomy, as he grew old his deſires ſeemed to change their object from the uſe of money to the pleaſure of hoarding it. But he ought in this to be pardoned, as he only ſaved for the public; the royal coffers being then the holy treaſury of the ſtate; and in proportion to the king's finances, the public might be ſaid to be either rich or indigent. A D. 1509.

About this time all Europe, as well as England, ſeemed to rouſe from the long lethargy during

during which it continued for above twelve hundred years. France, Spain, Portugal and Sweden, enjoyed excellent monarchs, who encouraged and protected the rising arts, and ſpread the means of happineſs. The Portugueſe ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Vaſquez de Gama; and the Spaniards, under the conduct of Columbus, had made the diſcovery of the new world of America. It was by accident only that Henry had not a conſiderable ſhare in theſe great naval diſcoveries; for Columbus, after meeting with many repulſes from the courts of Portugal and Spain, ſent his brother Bartholomew into England, in order to explain his projects to the king, and to crave his protection for the execution of them. Henry invited Columbus to England; but his brother, in returning, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus, in the mean time, ſucceeding with Iſabella, happily effected his enterpriſe. Henry was not diſcouraged by this diſappointment; he fitted out Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian dwelling at Briſtol, and ſent
A.D 1498. him weſtward in ſearch of new countries. This adventurer diſcovered the main land of America to the North; then ſailed Southward, along the coaſt, and diſcovered Newfoundland and other countries; but returned without making any ſettlement. The king, ſoon after, expended fourteen thouſand pounds in building one ſhip, called the GREAT HARRY. This was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy. Before this period, when the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient but to hire ſhips from the merchants.

CHAP.



CHAP. XXIII.

HENRY VIII.

NO prince ever came to the throne with a conjuncture of circumſtances more in his favour than Henry VIII. who now, in the eighteenth year of his age, undertook the government of the kingdom. His prudent father left him a peaceful throne, a well-ſtored treaſury, and an undiſputed ſucceſſion. By his father's ſide he claimed from the houſe of Lancaſter, and by his mother's from that of York. He was in friendſhip with all the powers of Europe, and his ſubjects were every day growing more powerful and more wealthy, commerce and arts had for ſome

A D. 1509.

ſome time been introduced into the kingdom, and the Engliſh ſeemed willing to give them a favourable reception. The young king himſelf was beautiful in perſon, expert in polite exerciſes, open and liberal in his air, and loved by all his ſubjects. The old king, who was himſelf a ſcholar, had him inſtructed in all the learning of the times; ſo that he was an adept in ſchool divinity before the age of eighteen.

But, favourable as theſe circumſtances were, Henry ſoon ſhowed that they went but a ſhort way in forming a good character; they were merely the gifts of nature, or accompliſhments implanted by the aſſiduity of his father; but he wanted the more ſolid advantages, which were to be of his own formation, a good heart, and a ſound underſtanding. The learning he had, if it may deſerve that appellation, ſerved only to inflame his pride, but not controul his vicious affections; the love of his ſubjects broke out in their flattery, and this was another meteor to lead him aſtray. His vaſt wealth, inſtead of relieving the public, or increaſing his power, only contributed to ſupply his debaucheries, or gratify the rapacity of the miniſters of his pleaſures. But it had been happy for his people if his faults had reſted here; he was a tyrant; humanity takes the alarm at his cruelties; and however fortunate ſome of his meaſures might prove in the event, no good man but muſt revolt at his motives, and the means he took for their accompliſhment.

The firſt action which ſhowed that the preſent reign was to be very different from the former, was the puniſhment of Empſon and Dudley, who were obnoxious to the populace for having

been

been the ready inſtruments of the late king's rapacity. They were immediately cited before the council, in order to anſwer for their conduct; but Empſon, in his defence, alleged that ſo far from deſerving cenſure for his paſt conduct, he was confident his actions rather merited reward and approbation. Though a ſtrict execution of the law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accuſed; although theſe laws had been eſtabliſhed by the voluntary conſent of the people; notwithſtanding all their expoſtulations, Empſon and Dudley were ſent to the Tower, and ſoon after brought to their trial. As the ſtrict diſcharge of their duty, in executing the laws, could not be alleged againſt them as a crime, to gratify the people with their puniſhment, they were accuſed of having entered into a conſpiracy againſt the preſent king; and of intentions to ſeize, by force, the adminiſtration of government. Nothing could be more improbable and unſupported than ſuch a charge; nevertheleſs the jury were ſo far infected with popular prejudice, that they gave a verdict againſt them; and they were both executed, ſome time after, by a warrant from the king.

This meaſure, which betrayed an unjuſt compliance with popular clamour, was followed by another ſtill more detrimental to the nation, although ſtill more pleaſing to the people. Julius the Second was at that time pope, and had filled all Europe with his intrigues and ambition; but his chief reſentment was levelled againſt Lewis, king of France, who was in poſſeſſion of ſome valuable provinces of Italy, from which he hoped, by his intrigues, to remove him. For this purpoſe he entered into a treaty with Ferdinand,

nand, king of Spain, and Henry of England; to each of whom he offered ſuch advantages as were moſt likely to inflame their ambition, in caſe they fell upon Lewis on their reſpective quarters; while he undertook himſelf to find him employment in Italy. Henry, who had no other motives but the glory of the expedition, and the hopes of receiving the title of the Moſt Chriſtian king, which the pope aſſured him would ſoon be wreſted from Lewis, to be conferred upon him, readily undertook to defend his cauſe; and his parliament being ſummoned, as readily granted ſupplies for a purpoſe ſo much favoured by the people. The ſpirit of chivalry and foreign conqueſt was not yet quite extinguiſhed in England; the kingdom of France was ſtill an object they deſired to poſſeſs, and Henry, in compliance with their wiſhes, gave out that he intended ſtriking for the crown. It was in vain that one of his old prudent counſellors objected, that conqueſts on the continent would only drain the kingdom, without enriching it; and that England, from its ſituation, was not fitted to enjoy extenſive empire: the young king, deaf to all remonſtrances, and burning with military ardour, reſolved to undertake the war. The marquis of Dorſet was firſt ſent over, with a large body of forces, to Fontarabia, to aſſiſt the operations of Ferdinand; but that faithleſs and crafty monarch had no intentions of effectually ſeconding their attempts, wherefore they were obliged to return home without effect.

A conſiderable fleet was equipped, ſome time after, to annoy the enemy by ſea, and the command intruſted to ſir Edward Howard; who, after

after ſcouring the Channel for ſome time, preſented himſelf before Breſt, where the French navy lay, and challenged them to combat. As the French were unequal to the enemy, they determined to wait for a reinforcement, which they expected, under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, from the Mediterranean. But in this the gallant Howard was reſolved to diſappoint them; and, upon the appearance of Prejeant with ſix gallies, who had time to take refuge behind ſome batteries, which were planted on the rocks that lay on each ſide him, he boldly rowed up with two gallies, followed by barges filled with officers of diſtinction. Upon coming up to Prejeant's ſhip, he immediately faſtened upon it, and leaped on board, followed by one Carroz, a Spaniſh cavalier, and ſeventeen Engliſhmen. The cable, mean while, which faſtened both ſhips together, was cut by the enemy, and the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; but as he ſtill continued to fight with great gallantry, he was puſhed overboard by their pikes, and periſhed in the ſea. Upon this misfortune the fleet retired from before Breſt, and the French navy, for a while, kept poſſeſſion of the ſea.

This ſlight repulſe only ſerved to inflame the king's ardour to take revenge upon the enemy; and he ſoon after ſent a body of eight thouſand men to Calais, under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury; and another body of ſix thouſand followed ſhortly after, under the conduct of lord Herbert. He prepared to follow himſelf with the main body and rear, and arrived at Calais, attended by numbers of the Engliſh nobility. But he ſoon had an attendant, who did him ſtill more honour. This was no leſs a perſonage than

Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who had ſtipulated to aſſiſt him with eight thouſand men, but, being unable to perform his engagements, joined the Engliſh army with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new-levied ſoldiers. He even enliſted himſelf in the Engliſh ſervice, wore the croſs of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns per-day, as one of Henry's ſubjects and captains.

Henry being now at the head of a formidable army fifty thouſand ſtrong, it was ſuppoſed that France muſt fall a victim to his ambition. But that kingdom was not threatened by him alone; the Swiſs, on another quarter, with twenty-five thouſand men, were preparing to invade it; while Ferdinand of Arragon, whom no treaties could bind, was only waiting for a convenient opportunity of attack on his ſide to advantage. Never was the French monarchy in ſo diſtreſſed a ſituation; but the errors of its aſſailants procured its ſafety. The Swiſs entered into a treaty with Trimouille, the French general, who gave them their own terms, ſatisfied that his maſter would reſcind them all, as not having given him any powers to treat, Ferdinand continued to remain a quiet ſpectator, vainly waiting for ſome effectual blow to be ſtruck by his allies; and Henry ſpent his time in the ſiege of towns, which could neither ſecure his conqueſts, nor advance his reputation.

The firſt of theſe was Terouenne, a little town ſituated on the frontiers of Picardy, which kept him employed for more than a month, although the garriſon ſcarce amounted to a thouſand men. The beſieged, after ſome time, falling ſhort of pro-

proviſions, a very bold and deſperate attempt was made to ſupply them, which was attended with ſucceſs. A French captain, whoſe name was Fontrailles, led up a body of eighteen hundred men, each of whom carried a bag of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this ſmall force he made a fierce and unexpected irruption into the Engliſh camp; and, ſurmounting all reſiſtance, advanced to the ditch of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burden. Then immediately returning upon the gallop, they were again ſo fortunate as to break through the Engliſh without any great loſs in the undertaking. But the party of horſe that was ſent to cover the retreat, was not ſo ſucceſsful. Though this body of troops was commanded by the boldeſt and braveſt captains of the French army, yet on ſight of the Engliſh they were ſeized with ſuch an unaccountable panic, that they immediately fled, and had many of their beſt officers taken priſoners. This action was called by the French the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but by the Engliſh, the battle of the Spurs, as the French upon that day, made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords, to procure ſafety.

After this victory, which might have been followed with very important conſequences, had the victors marched forward to Paris, Henry ſat down to make ſure of the little town which had made ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance; and found himſelf, when it was obliged to ſurrender, maſter of a place, which neither recompenſed the blood nor the delay that were expended in the ſiege.

From one error Henry went on to another. He was perſuaded to lay ſiege to Hurlay, a great

and rich city of Flanders, which at that time was in poſſeſſion of the French. This ſiege, though it took up little time, yet ſerved to retard the great object, which was the conqueſt of France; and Henry hearing that the Swiſs were returned home, and being elated with his trifling ſucceſſes, reſolved to tranſport his army back to England, where flattery was put to the torture, to make him happy in the glory of his ridiculous expedition. A truce was concluded ſoon after between the two kingdoms; and Henry continued to diſſipate, in more peaceful follies, thoſe immenſe ſums which had been amaſſed by his predeceſſor for very different purpoſes.

The ſucceſs which, during his foreign expedition, attended his arms in the North of England, was much more important and deciſive. A war having been declared between the Engliſh and Scots, who ever took the opportunity to fall on, when their neighbours were embroiled with France, the king of that country ſummoned out the whole force of his kingdom; and having paſſed the Tweed with a body of fifty thouſand men, ravaged thoſe parts of Northumberland which lay along the banks of that river. But as his forces were numerous, and the country barren, he ſoon began to want proviſions; ſo that many of his men deſerted and returned to their native country. In the mean time the earl of Surry, at the head of twenty-ſix thouſand men, approached the Scots, who were encamped on a riſing-ground, near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between both armies, and prevented an engagement; wherefore the earl of Surry ſent a herald to the Scots camp, challenging the enemy to deſcend into the plain, which lay to the

the ſouth, and there to try their valour on equal ground. This offer not being accepted, he made a feint, as if he intended marching towards Berwick; which putting the Scots in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great ſmoke cauſed by the firing their huts, and paſſed the little river, which had hitherto prevented the engagement. Both armies now perceiving that a combat was inevitable, they prepared for the onſet with great compoſure and regularity. The Engliſh divided their army into two lines; lord Howard led the main body of the firſt line; ſir Edmund Howard the right wing, and ſir Marmaduke Conſtable the left; the earl of Surry himſelf commanded the main body of the ſecond line, aſſiſted by lord Dacres and ſir Edward Stanley to the right and the left. The Scots, on the other hand, preſented three diviſions to the enemy; the middle commanded by the king himſelf, the right by the earl of Huntley, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; a fourth diviſion, under the earl of Bothwell, made a body of reſerve. Lord Huntley began the onſet, charging the diviſion of lord Howard with ſuch fury, that it was immediately put to confuſion, and routed. But this diviſion was ſo ſeaſonably ſupported by lord Dacres, that the men rallied, and the battle became general. Both ſides fought a long time with incredible impetuoſity, until the Highlanders, being galled by the Engliſh artillery, broke in ſword in hand upon the main body, commanded by the earl of Surry; and at the head of theſe, James fought with the moſt forward of the nobility. They attacked with ſuch velocity, that the hinder line could not advance in time to ſuſtain them, ſo that a body of Eng-

liſh intercepted their retreat. James being thus almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy, refuſed to quit the field, while it was yet in his power; but, alighting from his horſe, formed his little body into an orb, and in this poſture fought with ſuch deſperate courage, as reſtored the battle. The Engliſh therefore were again obliged to have recourſe to their artillery and arrows, which made a terrible havock; but night ſeparating the combatants, it was not till the day following that lord Howard perceived that he had gained a great and glorious victory. The Engliſh had loſt no perſons of note; but the whole flower of the Scots nobility were fallen in battle. Ten thouſand of the common men were cut off; and a body, ſuppoſed to be that of the king, was ſent to London, where it remained unburied, as a ſentence of excommunication ſtill remained againſt James for having leagued with France againſt the Holy See. But upon Henry's application, who pretended that that prince in the inſtant before his death had diſcovered ſome ſigns of repentance, abſolution was given him, and the body was interred. However, the populace of Scotland ſtill continued to think their king alive; and it was given out among them that he had ſecretly gone on a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

Theſe ſucceſſes only ſerved to intoxicate Henry ſtill the more; and while his pleaſure, on the one hand, engroſſed his time, the preparations for repeated expeditions exhauſted his treaſures. As it was natural to ſuppoſe the old miniſters, who were appointed to direct him by his father, would not willingly concur in theſe idle projects, Henry had, for ſome time, diſcontinued aſking their advice, and chiefly con-

fided

ſided in the counſels of Thomas, afterwards cardinal Wolſey, who ſeemed to ſecond him in his favourite purſuits. Wolſey was a miniſter who complied with all his maſter's inclinations, and flattered him in every ſcheme to which his ſanguine and impetuous temper was inclined. He was the ſon of a private gentleman; and not of a butcher, as is commonly reported, of Ipſwich. He was ſent to Oxford ſo early, that he was a bachelor at fourteen, and at that time was called the boy bachelor. He roſe by degrees, upon quitting college, from one preferment to another, till he was made rector of Lymington by the marquis of Dorſet, whoſe children he had inſtructed. He had not long reſided at this living, when one of the juſtices of the peace put him in the ſtocks for being drunk, and raiſing diſturbances at a neighbouring fair. This diſgrace, however, did not retard his promotion; for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry the Seventh; and being employed by that monarch in a ſecret negotiation reſpecting his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, he acquitted himſelf to that king's ſatisfaction, and obtained the praiſe both of diligence and dexterity. That prince having given him a commiſſion to Maximilian, who at that time reſided at Bruſſels, was ſurpriſed in leſs than three days after to ſee Wolſey preſent himſelf before him; and, ſuppoſing that he had been delinquent, began to reprove his delay. Wolſey, however, ſurpriſed him with aſſurance that he was juſt returned from Bruſſels, and had ſucceſsfully fulfilled all his majeſty's commands. His diſpatch on that occaſion procured him the deanery of Lincoln; and in this ſituation it was that he was

introduced by Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, to the young king's notice, in hopes that he would have talents to ſupplant the earl of Surry, who was favourite at that time; and in this, Fox was not out in his conjectures. Preſently after being introduced at court, he was made a privy-counſellor; and, as ſuch, had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himſelf with the young king, as he appeared at once complying, ſubmiſſive, and enterpriſing. Wolſey uſed every art to ſuit himſelf to the royal temper; he ſung, laughed, and danced with every libertine of the court; neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any reſtraint upon him, or tended to check, by ill-timed ſeverities, the gaiety of his companions. To ſuch a weak and vicious monarch as Henry, qualities of this nature were highly pleaſing; and Wolſey was ſoon acknowledged as his favourite, and to him was intruſted the chief adminiſtration of affairs. The people began to ſee with indignation the new favourite's mean condeſcenſions to the king, and his arrogance to themſelves. They had long regarded the vicious haughtineſs, and the unbecoming ſplendour of the clergy, with envy and deteſtation; and Wolſey's greatneſs ſerved to bring a new odium upon that body, already too much the object of the people's diſlike. His character being now placed in a more conſpicuous point of light, daily began to manifeſt itſelf the more. Inſatiable in his acquiſitions, but ſtill more magnificent in his expenſe; of extenſive capacity, but ſtill more unbounded in enterpriſe; ambitious of power, but ſtill more deſirous of glory; inſinuating, engaging, perſuaſive, and at other times lofty, elevated, and commanding; haughty to his equals; but affable

affable to his dependents; oppreſſive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; formed to take the aſcendant in every intercourſe, but vain enough not to cover his real ſuperiority.

He had been advanced ſoon to the biſhoprick of Lincoln; but this he afterwards reſigned, upon being promoted to the archbiſhoprick of York. Upon the capture of Tournay, he had been promoted to the ſee of that place; but beſides, he got poſſeſſion, at very low leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, biſhopricks filled by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a conſiderable ſhare of their profits. Beſides many other church preferments, he was allowed to unite with the ſee of York, firſt that of Durham, next that of Wincheſter, and his appetite ſeemed to increaſe, by the means that were taken to ſatisfy it. The pope, obſerving his great influence over the king, was deſirous of engaging him in his intereſts, and created him a cardinal. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and whoever were diſtinguiſhed by any art or ſcience, paid court to the cardinal, and were often liberally rewarded. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes. A. D. 1515.

Beſides theſe various diſtinctions, the pope ſoon after conferred upon him that of legate, deſigning thus to make him inſtrumental in draining the kingdom of money, upon pretence of employing

ploying it in a war againſt the Turks, but in reality with a view to fill his own coffers. In this, he ſo well ſerved the court of Rome, that ſome time after the poſt of legate was conferred upon him for life, and he now united in his perſon the promotions of legate, cardinal, archbiſhop, and prime miniſter.

Soon after Warham, chancellor, and archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate temper, choſe rather to retire from public employment than maintain an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. Wolſey inſtantly ſeiſed on the chancellorſhip, and exerciſed the duties of that employment with great abilities and impartiality. The duke of Norfolk finding the king's treaſures exhauſted, and his taſte for expenſe ſtill continuing, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had firſt been inſtrumental in Wolſey's riſe, withdrew himſelf in diſguſt; the duke of Suffolk alſo went home with a reſolution to remain private; whilſt Wolſey availed himſelf of their diſcontents, and filled up their places by his creatures, or his perſonal aſſiduity. Theſe were vaſt ſtretches of power; and yet the churchman was ſtill inſatiable. He procured a bull from the pope, empowering him to make knights and counts, to legitimate baſtards, to give degrees in arts, law, phyſic, and divinity, and to grant all ſorts of diſpenſations. So much pride and power could not avoid giving high offence to the nobility: yet none dared vent their indignation; ſo greatly were they in terror of his vindictive temper.

In order to divert their envy from his inordinate exaltation, he ſoon entered into a correſpond-

ence with Francis the Firſt, of France, who had taken many methods to work upon his vanity, and at laſt ſucceeded. In conſequence of that monarch's wiſhes, Henry was perſuaded by the cardinal to deliver up Tournay once more to the French; and he alſo agreed to an interview with that monarch. This expenſive congreſs was held between Guiſnes and Ardres, near Calais, within the Engliſh pale, in compliment to Henry for croſſing the ſea. The two monarchs, after ſaluting each other in the moſt cordial manner, retired into a tent erected for the purpoſe, where Henry proceeded to read the articles of their intended alliance. As he began to read the firſt words of it, "I, Henry, king," he ſtopt a moment, and then ſubjoined only "of England," without adding France, the uſual ſtyle of Engliſh monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed his approbation by a ſmile. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the nobility of both courts on this occaſion. Many of them involved themſelves in large debts; and the penury of a life was ſcarce ſufficient to reimburſe the extravagance of a few days. Beſide, there at firſt appeared ſomething low and illiberal in the mutual diſtruſts that were conſpicuous on this occaſion: the two kings never met without having the number of their guards counted on both ſides; every ſtep was carefully adjuſted; they paſſed each other in the middle point between both places, when they went to viſit their queens; and at the ſame inſtant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh at Guiſnes. But Francis, who is conſidered as the firſt reſtorer of true politeneſs in Europe, put an end to this low

low and illiberal method of converſing. Taking one day with him two gentlemen and a page, he rode directly into Guiſnes, crying out to the Engliſh guards, that they were their priſoners, and deſiring to be carried to their maſter. Henry was not a little aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My "brother, ſaid he, you have here given me the "moſt agreeable ſurpriſe; you have ſhown me "the full confidence I may place in you; I "ſurrender myſelf your priſoner from this mo-"ment." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls, of great value, and putting it on Francis, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed; and giving him a bracelet of double the value of the former, inſiſted on his wearing it in turn. Henry went the next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed between theſe monarchs, they employed the reſt of the time in feaſts and tournaments.

A. D. 1520. Some months before, a defiance had been ſent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy to anſwer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt and tourney. Accordingly, the monarchs now gorgeouſly appareled entered the liſts on horſeback, Francis ſurrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with thoſe of Francis. They were both at that time the moſt comely perſonages of their age, and prided themſelves on their expertneſs in the military exerciſes. The ladies were the judges in theſe feats of chivalry; and they put an end to the encounter whenever they thought

proper. It is ſuppoſed that the crafty French monarch was willing to gratify Henry's vanity by allowing him to enjoy a petty pre-eminence in theſe paſtimes. He ran a tilt againſt Monſieur Grandeval, whom he diſabled at the ſecond encounter. He engaged Monſieur de Montmorency, whom, however, he could not throw from the ſaddle. He fought at faulchion with a French nobleman, who preſented him with his courſer, in token of ſubmiſſion.

But theſe empty ſplendours were not ſufficient to appeaſe the jealouſy of the nobles at home, or quiet the murmurs of the people. Among theſe, the duke of Buckingham, the ſon of him who loſt his life in the reign of Richard the Third, was the foremoſt to complain. He had often been heard to treat the cardinal's pride and profuſion with juſt contempt; and carrying his reſentment perhaps to an improper length, ſome low informers took care that Wolſey ſhould be appriſed of all. The ſubſtance of his impeachment was, that he had conſulted a fortune-teller concerning his ſucceſſion to the crown, and had affected to make himſelf popular. This was but a weak pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whoſe father had died in defence of the late king; but he was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon had married his daughter, was created lord high ſteward, to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. He was condemned to die as a traitor, by a jury, conſiſting of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons. When the ſentence was pronouncing againſt him, and the high-ſteward came to mention the word traitor, the unhappy priſoner could not contain his indignation. "My lords," cried he to the judges,

judges, "I am no traitor; and for what you "have now done againſt me, take my ſincere for- "giveneſs; as for my life, I think it not worth "petitioning for, may God forgive you, and pity "me." He was ſoon after executed on Tower-hill.

By this time, all the immenſe treaſures of the late king were quite exhauſted on empty pageants, guilty pleaſures, or vain treaties and expeditions. But the king relied on Wolſey alone for repleniſhing his coffers; and no perſon could be fitter for the purpoſe. His firſt care was to get a large ſum of money from the people, under the title of a benevolence, which added to its being extorted, the mortification of being conſidered as a free gift. Henry little minded the manner of its being raiſed, provided he had the enjoyment of it; however, his miniſter met with ſome oppoſition in his attempts to levy theſe extorted contributions. In the firſt place, having exacted a conſiderable ſubſidy from the clergy, he next addreſſed himſelf to the houſe of commons; but they only granted him half the ſupplies he demanded. Wolſey was at firſt highly offended at their parſimony, and deſired to be heard in the houſe; but as this would have deſtroyed the very form and conſtitution of that auguſt body, they replied, that none could be permitted to ſit and argue there, but ſuch as had been elected members. This was the firſt attempt made in this reign, to render the king maſter of the debates in parliament. Wolſey firſt paved the way; and, unfortunately for the kingdom, Henry too well improved upon his plans ſoon after.

A treaty with France, which threatened to make a breach with the emperor, induced Henry to

to wiſh for new ſupplies; or at leaſt he made this the pretext of his demands. But as the parliament had teſtified their reluctance to indulge his wiſhes, he followed the advice of Wolſey, and reſolved to make uſe of his prerogative alone for that purpoſe. He iſſued out commiſſions to all the counties of England for levying four ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three ſhillings and four pence from the laity; nor did he attempt to cover the violence of the meaſure by giving it the name either of benevolence or loan. This unwarrantable ſtretch of royal power was quickly oppoſed by the people; they were unwilling to ſubmit to impoſitions unknown till now; and a general inſurrection threatened to enſue. Henry had the prudence to ſtop ſhort in that dangerous path into which he had entered; and declared, by circular letters to all the counties, that what was demanded was only by way of benevolence. But the ſpirit of oppoſition, once roufed, was not ſo eaſily quieted; the citizens of London heſitated on the demand; and in ſome parts of the country, inſurrections were actually begun, which were ſuppreſſed by the duke of Suffolk. Theſe impoſts, which were firſt adviſed by Wolſey not happily ſucceeding, he began to loſe a little of his favour with the king: and this diſpleaſure was ſtill more increaſed by the complaints of the clergy, who accuſed him of extortion. Henry reproved Wolſey, in ſevere terms; which rendered him more cautious and artful for the future. As an inſtance of his cunning, having built a noble palace, called York-place, at Weſtminſter, for his own uſe, fearing now the general cenſure againſt him, he made a preſent of it to the king, aſſuring him that from the firſt he intended it as an offer to his majeſty.

majeſty. Thus Wolſey's impunity only ſerved to pave the way to greater extortions. The pride of this prelate was great; but his riches were ſtill greater. In order to have a pretext for amaſſing ſuch ſums, he undertook to found two new colleges in Oxford, for which he received every day freſh grants from the pope and the king. To execute this favourite ſcheme, he obtained a liberty of ſuppreſſing ſeveral monaſteries, and converting their revenues to the benefit of his new foundation. Whatever might have been the pope's inducement to grant him theſe privileges, nothing could be more fatal to the pontiff's intereſts; for Henry was thus himſelf taught ſhortly afterwards to imitate what he had ſeen a ſubject perform with impunity.

Hitherto the adminiſtration of all affairs was carried on by Wolſey; for the king was contented to loſe, in the embraces of his miſtreſſes, all the complaints of his ſubjects; and the cardinal undertook to keep him ignorant, in order to continue his own uncontrouled authority. But now a period was approaching, that was to put an end to this miniſter's exorbitant power. One of the moſt extraordinary and important revolutions that ever employed the attention of man, was now ripe for execution. This was no leſs a change than the Reformation; to have an idea of the riſe of which, it will be proper to take a curſory view of the ſtate of the church at that time, and to obſerve by what ſeemingly contradictory means Providence produces the moſt happy events.

The church of Rome had now, for more than a thouſand years, been corrupting the ancient ſimplicity of the goſpel, and converting into a tem-

temporality the kingdom of another world. The popes had been frequently ſeen at the head of their own armies, fighting for their dominions with the arm of fleſh, and forgetting in cruelty and deteſtable maxims of ſtate, all the pretended ſanctity of their characters. The cardinals, prelates, and dignitaries of the church, lived in envied ſplendour, were ſerved like voluptuous princes and ſome of them were found to poſſeſs eight or nine biſhoprieks at once. Wherever the church governed, it exerted that power with cruelty ſo that to their luxuries were uſually added the crime of tyranny too. As for the inferior clergy, both popiſh and proteſtant writers exclaim againſt their abandoned and diſſolute morals. They publicly kept miſtreſſes, and bequeathed to their illegitimate children whatever they were able to ſave from their pleaſures, or extort from the poor. There is ſtill to be ſeen a will made by a biſhop of Cambray, in which he ſets aſide a certain ſum for the baſtards he has had already, and thoſe which, by the bleſſing of God, he may yet happen to have. In many parts of England and Germany, the people obliged their prieſts to have concubines; ſo that the laity might preſerve their wives with greater ſecurity; while at the ſame time, the poor laborious peaſant and artiſan ſaw all the fruits of their toil go, not to clothe and maintain their own little families, but to pamper men, who inſulted them with lectures, to which their example appeared a flat contradiction. But the vices of the clergy were not greater than their ignorance; few of them knew the meaning of their Latin maſs. Their ſagacity was chiefly employed in finding out witches, and exorciſing the poſſeſſed;

but what moſt increaſed the hatred of the people againſt them was the ſelling pardons and abſolutions for ſin, at certain ſtated prices. A deacon, or ſubdeacon, who committed murder, was abſolved from his crime, and allowed to poſſeſs three benefices upon paying twenty crowns. A biſhop or abbot might commit murder for about ten pounds of our money. Every crime had its ſtated value; and abſolutions were given for ſins not only already committed, but ſuch as ſhould be committed hereafter. The wiſeſt of the people looked with ſilent deteſtation on theſe impoſitions; and the ignorant themſelves, whom fortune ſeemed to have formed for ſlavery, began to open their eyes to ſuch glaring abſurdities.

Theſe vices and impoſitions were now almoſt come to a head; and the increaſe of arts and learning among the laity, propagated by means of printing, which had been lately invented, began to make them reſiſt that power which was originally founded on deceit. Leo the Tenth
A.D. 1519. was at that time pope, and eagerly employed in building the church of St. Peter at Rome. In order to procure money for carrying on that expenſive undertaking, he gave a commiſſion for ſelling indulgences, a practice that had been often tried before. Theſe were to free the purchaſer from the pains of purgatory; and they would ſerve even for one's friends, if purchaſed with that intention. There were every where ſhops opened, where they were to be ſold; but in general they were to be had at taverns, brothels, and gaming houſes. The Auguſtine friars had uſually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration; but the pope's

pope's miniſter, ſuppoſing that they had found out illicit methods of ſecreting the money, tranſferred the lucrative employment from them to the Dominicans. Martin Luther, profeſſor in the univerſity of Wirtemberg, was an Auguſtine monk, and one of thoſe who reſented this tranſfer of the ſale of indulgences from one order to another. He began to ſhow his indignation by preaching againſt their efficacy; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by oppoſition, he enveighed againſt the authority of the pope himſelf. Being driven hard by his adverſaries, ſtill as he enlarged his reading, in order to ſupport his tenets, he diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome. The people, who had long groaned under the papal tyranny, heard his diſcourſes with pleaſure, and defended him againſt the authority and machinations of his enemies. Frederic, elector of Saxony, ſurnamed the Wiſe, openly protected him; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model; and Luther, a man naturally inflexible and vehement, was become incapable, either from promiſes of advancement, or terrors of ſeverity, to relinquiſh a ſect, of which he was himſelf the founder. It was in vain, therefore, that the pope iſſued out his bulls againſt Luther; it was in vain that the Dominican friars procured his books to be burned; he boldly abuſed the Dominicans, and burned the pope's bull in the ſtreets of Wirtemberg. In the mean time, the diſpute was carried on by writing on either ſide. Luther, though oppoſed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, ſupported his cauſe ſingly and with ſucceſs. As the controverſy was

new, his ignorance of many parts of the ſubject was not greater than theirs; and, ill as he wrote, they anſwered ſtill worſe. Opinions are inculcated upon the minds of mankind rather by confidence and perſeverance, than by ſtrength of reaſoning, or beauty of diction; and no man had more confidence or more perſeverance than he. In this diſpute it was the fate of Henry to be a champion on both ſides. His father, who had given him the education of a ſcholar, permitted him to be inſtructed in ſchool-divinity, which then was the principal object of learned inquiry. Henry, therefore, willing to convince the world of his abilities in that ſcience, obtained the pope's permiſſion to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden, under pain of excommunication. In conſequence of this, the king defended the ſeven ſacraments, out of St. Thomas Aquinas; and ſhowed ſome dexterity in this ſcience, though it is thought that Wolſey had the chief hand in directing him. A book being thus finiſhed in haſte, it was ſent to Rome for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to ſuppoſe would not be with-held. The pontiff, raviſhed with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome or St. Auguſtine; and rewarded the author with the title of Defender of the Faith, little imagining that Henry was ſoon to be one of the moſt terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

Beſides theſe cauſes, which contributed to render the Romiſh church odious and contemptible, there were ſtill others, proceeding from political meaſures. Clement the Seventh had ſucceeded Leo, and the hereditary animoſity between the emperor and the pope breaking out into a war, Clement

Clement was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and with thirteen cardinals, his adherents, kept in custody for his ransom. As the demands of the emperor were exorbitant, Henry undertook to negotiate for the pope, and was procuring him a very favourable treaty, but his holiness, in the mean time, corrupting his guards had the good fortune to procure his escape from confinement, and leaving the treaty unfinished, sent Henry a letter of thanks for his mediation. The violence of the emperor's troops Henry knew popes might be injured with impunity, and the behaviour of the pope manifested but little of that infallibility to which the pontiffs pretended. Besides, as Henry had laid the pope thus under obligations, he hoped that he might, upon any emergence, expect a grateful return.

It was in this situation of the church and the pope, that a new scene was going to be opened, which was to produce endless disturbances, and to change the whole system of Europe. He had now been eighteen years married to Catherine of Arragon, who was twelve years older brother, who died a few months after cohabitation. But, notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to the indulgence of the church, Henry's marriage with this princess did not pass without scruple and hesitation. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations, and the late king, though he had solemnised the espousals, when his son was but twelve years of age, gave many intimations that he intended to annul them at a proper opportunity. These intentions might have given Henry some doubts and scruples con-

cerning the legitimacy of his marriage; but as he had three children by the princeſs, and as her character and conduct were blameleſs, he for a while kept his ſuggeſtions private. But ſhe was ſix years older than him; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diſeaſes, had contributed to make him deſirous of another conſort. However, though he felt a ſecret diſlike to her perſon, yet for a long time he broke out into no flagrant act of contempt; contented to range from beauty to beauty among the ladies of his court, and his rank always procuring him a ready compliance. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at firſt excited, by a motive much more powerful than the tacit ſuggeſtions of his conſcience. It happened that among the maids of honour, then attending the queen, there was one Anna Boleyn, the daughter of ſir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of diſtinction, and related to moſt of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in ſeveral embaſſies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty of Anne ſurpaſſed whatever had hitherto appeared at this voluptuous court: and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to ſet off her perſonal charms. Her features were regular, mild, and attractive; her ſtature elegant, though below the middle ſize, while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements. Henry, who had never learned the art of reſtraining any paſſion that he deſired to gratify, ſaw and loved her; but after ſeveral efforts to induce her to comply with his criminal deſires, he found that without marriage he could have no chance of ſucceeding. This obſtacle, therefore, he hardily undertook to remove;

move; and as his own queen was now become hateful to him, in order to procure a divorce, he alleged that his conſcience rebuked him for having ſo long lived in inceſt with the wife of his brother. In this pretended perplexity, he applied to Clement the Seventh, who owed him many obligations, deſiring him to diſſolve the bull of the former pope, which had given him permiſſion to marry Catharine; and to declare that it was not in the power, even of the holy ſee, to diſpenſe with a law ſo ſtrictly enjoined in ſcripture. The unfortunate pope was now in the utmoſt perplexity; queen Catharine was aunt to the emperor who had lately made him a priſoner, and whoſe reſentment he dreaded to rekindle by thus injuring ſo near a relation: beſide, he could not in prudence declare the bull of the former pope illicit, for this would be giving a blow to the doctrine of papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend, the dominions of England were the chief reſource from whence his finances were ſupplied, and the king of France, ſome time before, had got a bull of divorce in ſomewhat ſimilar circumſtances. In this exigence, he thought the wiſeſt method would be to ſpin out the affair by a negotiation: and in the mean time ſent over a commiſſion to Wolſey, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and the former diſpenſation; granting them alſo a proviſional diſpenſation for the king's marriage with any other perſon. When this meſſage was laid before the council in England, they prudently conſidered that an advice given by the pope in this ſecret manner, might very eaſily be diſavowed in public; and that a clandeſtine marriage would

totally invalidate the legitimacy of any iſſue the king ſhould have by ſuch a match In conſequence of this, freſh meſſengers were diſpatched to Rome, and evaſive anſwers returned, the pope ſtill continuing to promiſe, recant, diſpute, and temporiſe; hoping that the king's paſſion would never hold out during the tedious courſe of an eccleſiaſtical controverſy. In this he was entirely miſtaken. Henry had been long taught to diſpute as well as he, and quickly found, or wreſted, many texts of ſcripture to favour his opinions or his paſſions. To his arguments he added threats, aſſuring the pope, that the Engliſh were already but too well diſpoſed to withdraw from the holy ſee; and that if he continued uncomplying, the whole country would readily follow the example of a monarch who, ſtung by ingratitude, ſhould deny all obedience to a pontiff by whom he had always been treated with falſehood and duplicity. The king even propoſed to his holineſs, whether in caſe he were not permitted to put away his preſent queen, he might not have a diſpenſation for having two wives at a time.

The pope, perceiving the eagerneſs of the king, at one time had thoughts of complying with his ſolicitations, and ſent cardinal Campegio, his legate, to London, who, with Wolſey, opened a court for trying the legitimacy of the king's preſent marriage, and cited the king and the queen to appear before them. They both preſented themſelves; and the king anſwered to his name when called; but the queen, inſtead of anſwering to hers, roſe from her ſeat, and throwing herſelf at the king's feet, in the moſt pathetic manner, entreated him to have pity upon her helpleſs ſituation. A ſtranger, unprotected, unfriended,

friended, ſhe could only rely on him as her guardian and defender, on him alone who knew her ſubmiſſion, and her innocence, and not upon any court, in which her enemies prevailed, and would wreſt the laws againſt her; ſhe therefore refuſed the preſent trial, where ſhe could expect neither juſtice nor impartiality. Yet, notwithſtanding the queen's objections, her trial went forward; and Henry ſhortly hoped to be gratified in his moſt ſanguine expectations. The principal point which came before the legates, was the proof of prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catharine, which ſome of his own expreſſions to that purpoſe tended to confirm. Other topics were preparing, tending to prove the inability of the pope himſelf to grant ſuch a diſpenſation; and the buſineſs ſeemed now to be drawing near a period, when, to the great ſurpriſe of all, Campegio, all of a ſudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court; and ſhortly after transferred the cauſe before the court of Rome.

During the courſe of theſe perplexing negotiations, on the iſſue of which Henry's happineſs ſeemed to depend, he had at firſt expected to find in his favourite Wolſey, a warm defender and a ſteady adherent; but in this he found himſelf miſtaken. Wolſey ſeemed to be in pretty much the ſame dilemma with the pope. On the one hand, he was to pleaſe his maſter the king, from whom he had received a thouſand marks of favour; and on the other hand, he feared to diſoblige the pope, whoſe ſervant he more immediately was, and who beſides had power to puniſh his diſobedience. He, therefore, reſolved to continue

tinue neuter in this controverſy; and, though of all men the moſt haughty, he gave way on this occaſion to his colleague Campegio in all things, pretending a deference to his ſkill in canon law. Wolſey's ſcheme of temporiſing was highly diſpleaſing to the king; but for a while he endeavoured to ſtifle his reſentment, until it could act with more fatal certainty. He for ſome time looked out for a man of equal abilities and leſs art; and it was not long before accident threw in his way one Thomas Cranmer, of greater talents, and probably of more integrity. Cranmer was a doctor of divinity, and a profeſſor at Cambridge, but had loſt his office upon marrying contrary to the inſtitutes of the canon law, which enjoined celibacy to all the clergy. He had travelled in his youth into Germany; and it was there he became acquainted with Luther's works, and embraced his doctrines. This man happening to fall one evening into company with Gardiner ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox, the king's almoner, the buſineſs of the divorce became the ſubject of converſation. He gave it as his opinion, that the readieſt way to quiet the king's conſcience, or to extort the pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the univerſities of Europe upon the affair; an advice which being brought to the king, pleaſed him ſo much, that Cranmer was deſired to follow the court.

The king finding himſelf provided with a perſon who could ſupply Wolſey's place, appeared leſs reſerved in his reſentments againſt that prelate. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a bill of indictment againſt him; and he was ſoon after commanded to reſign the great ſeal.

ſeal. Crimes are eaſily found againſt a favourite in diſgrace, and the courtiers did not fail to increaſe the catalogue of his errors. He was ordered to depart from York-place palace; and all his furniture and plate were converted to the king's uſe. The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the moſt extravagant ſurmiſes. Of fine Holland alone there were found a thouſand pieces; the walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and ſilver; he had a cup-board of plate of maſſy gold; all the reſt of his riches and furniture were in proportion, and probably their greatneſs invited the hand of power. The parliament ſoon after confirmed the ſentence of the court of Star-chamber againſt him, and he was ordered to retire to Eſher, a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton; there to await the king's further pleaſure, with all the fluctuations of hope and apprehenſions. Still, however, he was in poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick of York and biſhoprick of Wincheſter; and the king gave him diſtant gleams of hope, by ſending him a ring, accompanied with a gracious meſſage. Wolſey, who, like every bad character, was proud to his equals and mean to thoſe above him, happening to meet the king's meſſenger on horſeback, immediately alighted, and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received, in that abject manner, thoſe marks of his majeſty's condeſcenſion. But his hopes were ſoon overturned; for after he had remained ſome time at Eſher, he was ordered to remove to his ſee of York; where he took up his reſidence at Cawood, and rendered himſelf very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmoleſted in this retreat.

retreat. He was arreſted by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high-treaſon; and prepararions were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial. He at firſt refuſed to comply with the requiſition, as being a cardinal; but finding the earl bent on performing his commiſſion, he complied, and ſet out, by eaſy journies, for London, to appear as a criminal, where he had acted as a king. In his way he ſtayed a fortnight at the earl of Shrewſbury's; where one day at dinner, he was taken ill, not without violent ſuſpicions of having poiſoned himſelf. Being brought forward from thence, he with much difficulty reached Leiceſter abbey; where the monks coming out to meet him, he ſaid, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared. As his diſorder increaſed, an officer being placed near, at once to guard and attend him, he ſpoke to him, a little before he expired, to this effect: "I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his royal majeſty; he is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will miſs, or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. I do aſſure you I have kneeled before him, for three hours together, to perſuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God, but only to my prince." He died ſoon after, in all the pangs of remorſe, and left a life which he had all along rendered turbid

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by ambition, and wretched by mean aſſiduities. He left two natural children behind him, one of whom, being a prieſt, was loaded with church preferments.

Henry being now freed from the control of a perſon who had for ſome time been an obſtacle to his intentions, by Cranmer's advice, he had the legality of his preſent marriage canvaſſed in all the moſt noted univerſities of Europe. It was very extraordinary to ſee the king on one ſide ſoliciting the univerſities to be favourable to his paſſion; and, on the other, the emperor preſſing them with equal ardour to be favourable to his aunt. Henry liberally rewarded thoſe doctors who declared on his ſide; and the emperor granted benefices to ſuch as voted in conformity to his wiſhes. Time has diſcovered theſe intrigues. In one of Henry's account-books, we find the diſburſements he made on theſe occaſions. To a ſubdeacon he gave a crown, to a deacon two crowns; and ſo of the reſt, in proportion to the conſequence of their ſtation or opinion. The perſon, however, who bribed on theſe occaſions, excuſed himſelf, by declaring that he never paid the money till after the vote was given. In this conteſt, the liberalities, and conſequently the votes of Henry prevailed; his intrigues for a favourable deciſion being better carried on, as he was moſt intereſted in the debate. All the colleges of Italy and France unanimouſly declared his preſent marriage againſt all law divine and human; and therefore alleged, that it was not in the power of the pope himſelf to grant a diſpenſation. The only places where this deciſion was moſt warmly oppoſed, were at Oxford and Cambridge: but they alſo concurred in the ſame

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opinion at laſt, having furniſhed out the formality of a debate. But the agents of Henry were not content with the ſuffrage of the univerſities alone; the opinions of the Jewiſh rabbies were alſo demanded; however, their ſuffrages were eaſily bought up.

Henry being thus fortified by the ſuffrages of the univerſities, was now reſolved to oppoſe even the pope himſelf, and began in parliament by reviving an old law againſt the clergy, by which it was decreed, that all thoſe, who had ſubmitted to the legatine authority, had incurred ſevere penalties. The clergy, to conciliate the king's favour, were compelled to pay a fine of an hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds. A confeſſion was likewiſe extorted from them, that the king was protector and ſupreme head of the church and the clergy of England. By theſe conceſſions a great part of the profits, and ſtill more of the power of the church of Rome was cut off. An act ſoon after was paſſed againſt levying the firſt fruits, or a year's rent, of all the biſhopricks that fell vacant. The tie that held Henry to the church being thus broken, he reſolved to keep no further meaſures with the pontiff. He therefore privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioneſs of Pembroke; the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and doctor Cranmer, being preſent at the ceremony. Soon after finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage, and, to colour over his diſobedience to the pope with an appearance of triumph, he paſſed with his beautiful bride through London, [illegible] magnificence greater than had been ever [illegible]n before. The ſtreets were ſtrewed, the

walls of the houſes were hung with tapeſtries, the conduits ran with wine, and an univerſal joy was diffuſed among the people who were contented rather with the preſent feſtivity, than ſolicitous to examine the motives of it. Catharine, who had all along ſupported her claims with reſolution, and yet with modeſty, was cited to a trial; but refuſing to appear, ſhe was pronounced contumacious, and judgment given againſt the validity of her marriage with the king. At length, finding the inutility of further reſiſtance, ſhe retired to Ampthill, near Dunſtable, where ſhe continued the reſt of her life in privacy and peace.

In the mean time, when this intelligence was conveyed to Rome, the conclave was in a rage; and the pope, incited by their ardour, and frightened alſo by the menaces of the emperor, publiſhed a ſentence, declaring queen Catharine alone to be Henry's lawful wife; and requiring him to take her again, with a denunciation of cenſures, in caſe of refuſal. On the other hand, Henry, finding that his ſubjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and had willingly complied with his attempts to break a foreign dependence, reſolved no longer to renew theſe ſubmiſſions which no power could extort. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation: care had been taken for ſome years to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own dioceſe. The king, therefore, no longer delayed his meditated ſcheme of ſeparating entirely from the church of Rome. The parliament was at his devotion; the majority of the clergy was for him, as they had already declared againſt the pope,

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by decreeing in favour of the divorce; and the people, above all, wiſhed to ſee the church humbled, which had ſo long controlled them at pleaſure, and grown opulent by their labours, and diſtreſſes. Thus all things conſpiring to cooperate with his deſigns, he at once ordered himſelf to be declared by his clergy the ſupreme head
A. D. 1534. of the church; the parliament confirmed the title, aboliſhed all authority of the pope, in England, voted all tributes, formerly paid to the holy ſee, as illegal, and entruſted the king with the collation to all eccleſiaſtical benefices. The nation came into the king's meaſures with joy, and took an oath, called the oath of ſupremacy; all the credit of the pope, that had ſubſiſted for ages, was now at once overthrown, and none ſeemed to repine at the revolution, except thoſe who were immediately intereſted by their dependence on the court of Rome.

But though Henry had thus ſeparated from the church, yet he had not addicted himſelf to the ſyſtem of any other reformer. The idea of hereſy ſtill appeared deteſtable as well as formidable to him; and whilſt his reſentment againſt the ſee of Rome had removed one part of his early prejudices, he made it a point never to relinquiſh the reſt. Separate as he ſtood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he ſtill valued himſelf on maintaining the catholic doctrines, and on guarding by fire and ſword the imagined purity of its eſtabliſhments. His miniſters and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct, and ſeemed to waver, during the whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The young queen, engaged by intereſt as well as inclination, favoured

veured the cauſe of the reformers; Thomas Cromwell, who, from being a creature of Wolſey, and who, by an admirable defence of the conduct of his old maſter, had been taken into the favour and confidence of the king, embraced the ſame views. Being a man of prudence and ability, he was very ſucceſsful in promoting the reformation, though in a concealed manner. Cranmer, who was now become archbiſhop of Canterbury, had all along adopted the proteſtant tenets, and had gained Henry's friendſhip by his candour and ſincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the old mode of worſhip; and by the greatneſs of his rank, as well as by his talents for peace and war, he had great weight in the king's council. Gardiner lately created biſhop of Wincheſter, had enliſted himſelf in the ſame party; and the ſuppleneſs of his character, and the dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely uſeful to it. The king, mean while, who held the balance between theſe contending factions, was enabled, by the courtſhip paid him by both proteſtants and catholics, to aſſume an immeaſurable authority.

As the mode of religion was not as yet known, and as the minds of thoſe who were of oppoſite ſentiments were extremely exaſperated, it naturally followed that ſeveral muſt fall a ſacrifice in the conteſt between ancient eſtabliſhments and modern reformation. The reformers were the firſt who were exhibited as unhappy examples of the vindictive fury of thoſe who were for the continuance of ancient ſuperſtitions. One James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, being accuſed of favouring the doctrines of Luther, had been brought before ſir Thomas More during his

chancellorſhip; and, after being put to the torture, was condemned as a relapſed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. One Thomas Bilney, a prieſt, had embraced the new doctrine; but being terrified into an abjuration, he was ſo ſtung with remorſe, that he went into Norfolk, publicly recanting his former conduct, and expoſing the errors of popery. He was ſoon ſeiſed, tried in the biſhop's court, condemned as a relapſed heretic, and burnt accordingly. On the other hand, Henry was not remiſs in puniſhing ſuch as diſowned the propriety of his late defection from Rome; and the monks, as they ſuffered moſt by the reformation, ſo they were moſt obnoxious, from their free manner of ſpeaking, to the royal reſentment.

To aſſiſt him in bringing theſe to puniſhment, the parliament had made it capital to deny his ſupremacy over the church; and many priors and eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives for this new ſpecies of crime. But of thoſe who fell a ſacrifice to this ſtern and unjuſt law, none are ſo much to be regretted as John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and the celebrated ſir Thomas More. Fiſher was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals; but ſo firmly attached to ancient opinions, that he was thrown into priſon, and deprived of his eccleſiaſtical revenues; ſo that he had ſcarce even rags to cover him in his ſevere confinement. He was ſoon after indicted for denying the king's ſupremacy, condemned, and beheaded.

Sir Thomas More is entitled to ſtill greater pity, as his merits were greater. This extraordinary man, who was one of the revivers of ancient literature, and inconteſtably the foremoſt writer of his age, had, for ſome time, refuſed to

to act in ſubſerviency to the capricious paſſions of the king. He had been created chancellor; but gave up that high office, rather than concur in the breach with the church of Rome. The auſterity of this man's virtue, and the ſanctity of his manners, had in no wiſe encroached on the gentleneſs of his temper; but even in the midſt of poverty and diſgrace, he could preſerve that natural gaiety which was probably inſpired by conſcious innocence. But on the preſent occaſion, being put into confinement, no entreaties nor arguments could prevail with him to ſpeak an entire acknowledgment of the juſtice of the king's claims. One Rich, who was then ſolicitor-general, was ſent to confer with him; and in his preſence he was inveigled to ſay, that any queſtion with regard to the law, which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was like a two-edged ſword; if a perſon anſwered one way, it would confound his ſoul; if another, it would deſtroy his body. Theſe words were ſufficient for the baſe informer to hang an accuſation upon: and, as trials at that time were but mere formalities, the jury gave ſentence againſt More, who long expected his fate. His natural chearfulneſs attended him to the laſt: when he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, help me up; and "when I go down again, let me ſhift for myſelf." The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "You will "never get credit by beheading me, my neck "is ſo ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner ſtay till he had put aſide his beard, for ſaid he, that has never committed treaſon.

The concurrence which the people ſeemed to lend to theſe ſeverities, added to the great authority which Henry from his ſevere adminiſtration poſſeſſed, induced him to proceed ſtill farther in his ſcheme of innovation. As the monks had all along ſhown him the greateſt reſiſtance, he reſolved at once to deprive them of future power to injure him. He accordingly empowered Cromwell, ſecretary of ſtate, to ſend commiſſioners into the ſeveral counties of England to inſpect the monaſteries; and to report, with rigorous exactneſs, the conduct and deportment of ſuch as were reſident there. This employment was readily undertaken by ſome creatures of the court, namely, Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, and Belaſis, who are ſaid to have diſcovered monſtrous diſorders in many of the religious houſes. Whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs, friars accomplices in their crimes, pious frauds every where practiſed to increaſe the devotion and liberality of the people, and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the members of many of theſe inſtitutions. Theſe accuſations, whether true or falſe, were urged with great clamour againſt theſe communities; and a general horror was excited in the nation againſt them.

The king now thought he might with ſafety, and even ſome degree of popularity, aboliſh theſe inſtitutions; but willing to proceed gently at firſt, he gave directions to parliament to go no farther at preſent than to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries, who poſſeſſed revenues below the
A.D. 1536 value of two hundred pounds a-year. By this act three hundred and ſeventy-ſix monaſteries were ſuppreſſed; and their revenues, amounting to

to thirty-two thouſand pounds a-year, were granted to the king, beſides their goods and plate, computed at a hundred thouſand pounds more. But this was only the beginning of his confiſcations; for, about two years after, he reſolved upon the entire deſtruction of all monaſteries whatſoever. A new viſitation was therefore appointed, and freſh crimes were alſo produced; ſo that his ſeverities were conducted with ſuch ſeeming juſtice and ſucceſs, that in leſs than two years he became poſſeſſed of all the monaſtic revenues. Theſe, on the whole, amounted to ſix hundred and forty-five, of which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels, and a hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds, which was about a twentieth part of the national income. The loſs which was ſuſtained by the clergy upon this occaſion, was by no means ſo great or mortifying as the cruel inſults and reproaches to which they were expoſed for their former frauds and avarice. The numberleſs relics which they had amaſſed, to delude and draw money from the people, were now brought forward, and expoſed before the populace with the moſt poignant contempt. An angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the ſpear which pierced the ſide of Chriſt, coals that had roaſted St. Laurence, the parings of St. Edmond's toes, certain relics to prevent rain, others to ſtop the generation of weeds among corn. There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation

of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation for bending, raiſing, rolling the eyes, and ſhaking the head. It was brought to London, and broke to pieces at Paul's Croſs; and the wheels and ſprings by which it was actuated ſhown to the people. At Hales in Glouceſterſhire, the monks had carried on a profitable traffic with the pretended blood of Chriſt in a cryſtal phial. This relic was no other than the blood of a duck killed weekly, and exhibited to the pilgrim; if his prayers were accepted, the blood was ſhown him; if ſuppoſed to be rejected, the phial was turned; and being on one ſide opaque, the blood was no longer to be ſeen. But the ſpoils of St. Thomas à Becket's ſhrine at Canterbury exceed what even imagination might conceive. The ſhrine was broken down; and the gold that adorned it filled two large cheſts, that eight ſtrong men could hardly carry out of the church. The king even cited the ſaint himſelf to appear, and to be tried and condemned as a traitor. He ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the calendar, his bones to be burned, and the office for his feſtival to be ſtruck out of the Breviary. Such were the violent meaſures with which the king proceeded againſt theſe feats of indolence and impoſture; but as great murmurs were excited upon this occaſion, he took care that all thoſe who could be uſeful to him, or even dangerous in caſes of oppoſition, ſhould be ſharers in the ſpoil. He either made a gift of the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or ſold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very diſadvantageous terms. He alſo erected ſix new biſhoprics, Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough,

rough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter, of which the laſt five ſtill continue. He alſo ſettled ſalaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or their merits; and each monk was allowed a yearly penſion of eight marks for his ſubſiſtence.

But though the king had entirely ſeparated himſelf from Rome, yet he was unwilling to follow any guide in conducting a new ſyſtem. He would not therefore wholly abolith thoſe practices, by which prieſt-craft had been carried to ſuch a pitch of abſurdity. The invocation of ſaints was not yet aboliſhed by him, but only reſtrained. He procured an act, or, more properly ſpeaking, gave orders, to have the Bible tranſlated into the vulgar tongue; but it was not permitted to be put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope's ſupremacy; and yet equally heinous to be of the reformed religion, as eſtabliſhed in Germany. His opinions were at length delivered in a law, which, from its horrid conſequences, was afterwards termed the Bloody Statute, by which it was ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, denied tranſubſtantiation, whoever maintained that the communion in both kinds was neceſſary, whoever aſſerted that it was lawful for prieſts to marry, whoever alleged that vows of chaſtity might be broken, whoever maintained that private maſſes were unprofitable, or that auricular confeſſion was unneceſſary, ſhould be found guilty of hereſy, and burned or hanged as the court ſhould determine. As the people were at that time chiefly compoſed of thoſe who followed the opinions of Luther, and ſuch as ſtill adhered to the pope, this ſtatute,

with Henry's former decrees, in ſome meaſure excluded both, and opened a field for perſecution, which ſoon after produced its dreadful harveſts.

Theſe ſeverities, however, were preceded by one of a different nature, ariſing neither from religious nor political cauſes, but merely from tyrannical caprice. Anne Bolevn, his queen, had been always a favourer of the Reformation, and conſequently had many enemies on that account, who only waited ſome fit occaſion to deſtroy her credit with the king; and that occaſion preſented itſelf but too ſoon. The king's paſſion was by this time quite palled by ſatiety; as the only deſire he ever had for her aroſe from that brutal appetite which enjoyment ſoon deſtroys, he was now fallen in love, if we may ſo proſtitute the expreſſion, with another, and languiſhed for the poſſeſſion of Jane Seymour, who had for ſome time been maid of honour to the queen.

As ſoon as the queen's enemies perceived the king's diſguſt, they reſolved on taking the firſt
A. D. 1536 opportunity of gratifying his inclination to get rid of her, by producing crimes againſt her which his paſſions would quickly make real. The counteſs of Rochford in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, herſelf a woman of infamous character, began with the moſt cruel inſinuations againſt the reputation of her ſiſter-in-law. She pretended that her own huſband was engaged in an inceſtuous correſpondence with his ſiſter; and, not contented with this inſinuation, repreſented all the harmleſs levities of the queen as favours of a criminal nature. The king's jealouſy firſt appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened

pened to drop her handkerchief, as was ſuppoſed, to one of her minions to wipe his face, after having over-heated himſelf in the exerciſe. Though this might have been very harmleſs, the king abruptly retired from the place, and ſent orders to have her confined to her apartment. Anne ſmiled at firſt, thinking the king was in jeſt; but when ſhe found it was a very ſerious affair, ſhe received the ſacrament in her cloſet, ſenſible of what little mercy ſhe had to expect from ſo furious a tyrant.

In the mean time, her enemies were not remiſs in inflaming the accuſation againſt her. The duke of Norfolk, from his attachment to the old religion, took care to produce ſeveral witneſſes, accuſing her of incontinency with ſome of the meaner ſervants of the court. Four perſons were particularly pointed out as her paramours; Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with Mark Smeton, a muſician. As theſe had ſerved her with much aſſiduity, their reſpect might have been conſtrued by ſuſpicion into more tender attachments. The next day the queen was ſent to the Tower, earneſtly proteſting her innocence, and ſending up prayers to heaven for aſſiſtance in this extremity. She in vain begged to be admitted into the preſence of the king; the lady Boleyn, her uncle's wife, who had always hated her, was ordered to continue in the ſame chamber, and ſhe made a report of all the incoherent ravings of the afflicted priſoner. She owned that ſhe had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when ſhe ſhould be a widow. She had reproved Weſton,

ton, ſhe ſaid, for his affection to a kinſwoman of her's, and his indifference towards his wife; but he told her that ſhe had miſtaken the object of his affection, for it was herſelf. She affirmed, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpſichord; but ſhe acknowledged that he once had the boldneſs to tell her, that a look ſufficed him.

Every perſon at court now abandoned the unhappy queen in her diſtreſs, except Cranmer, who, though forbid to come into the king's preſence, wrote a letter to him in behalf of the queen; but his interceſſion had no effect. On the twelfth day of May, Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton were tried in Weſtminſter-hall, when Smeton was prevailed upon, by the promiſe of a pardon, to confeſs a criminal correſpondence with the queen; but he was never confronted by her he accuſed; and his execution with the reſt, ſhortly after, ſerved to acquit her of the charge. Norris, who had been much in the king's favour, had an offer of his life, if he would confeſs his crime, and accuſe his miſtreſs; but he rejected the propoſal with contempt, and died profeſſing her innocence, and his own.

In the mean time the queen, who ſaw the terrible appearance of her fortunes, attempted to ſoften the king by every endeavour to ſpare the lives of the unfortunate men whoſe deaths were decreed. But his was a ſtern jealouſy foſtered by pride; and nothing but her removal could appeaſe him. Her letter to him upon this occaſion, written from the Tower, is full of the tendereſt expoſtulations, and too remarkable to be omitted here; as its manner ſerves at once to mark the ſituation of her mind, and ſhows to

what a pitch of refinement ſhe had carried the language even then. It is as follows:

" Sir,

" Your grace's diſpleaſure, and my impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me, (willing me to confeſs a truth and ſo obtain your favour,) by ſuch an one, whom you know to be mine ancient profeſſed enemy, I no ſooner received this meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your command.

" But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof preceded. And to ſpeak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn. With which name and place I could have willingly have contented myſelf, if God and your grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my exaltation, or received queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration I knew was fit and ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other object. You have choſen me, from a low eſtate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you have found me worthy of ſuch honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counſel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyal heart towards your good

good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king: but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me, as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto your grace, not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instrument thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I

un-

underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleaſing in your ears, then let me obtain this requeſt; and I will ſo leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earneſt prayers to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful priſon in the Tower, this ſixth of May.

Your moſt loyal
and ever faithful wife,
Anne Boleyn."

It was not to be expected that eloquence could prevail on a tyrant, whoſe paſſions were to be influenced by none of the nobler motives; the queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; but upon what proof or pretence the crime of inceſt was urged againſt them is unknown; the chief evidence, it is ſaid, amounted to no more than that Rochford had been ſeen to lean on her bed before ſome company. Part of the charge againſt her was, that ſhe had declared to her attendants, that the king never had her heart; which was conſidered as a ſlander upon the throne, and ſtrained into a breach of a late ſtatute, by which it was declared criminal to throw any ſlander upon the king, queen, or their iſſue. The unhappy queen, though unaſſiſted by counſel, defended herſelf with great judgment, and preſence of mind; and the ſpectators could not forbear declaring her entirely innocent. She anſwered diſtinctly to all the charges brought againſt her: but the king's authority was not to be controuled; ſhe was declared

clared guilty, and her ſentence ran, that ſhe ſhould be burned or beheaded at the king's pleaſure. When this terrible ſentence was pronounced againſt her, ſhe could not help offering up a prayer to Heaven, vindicating her innocence; and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech to her judges, averred the injuſtice of her condemnation. But the tyrant, not ſatisfied with this vengeance, was deſirous alſo of having her daughter declared illegitimate; and remembering the report of a contract between her and Percy, earl of Northumberland, prevailed upon the queen, either by promiſe of life, or of executing the ſentence in all its rigour, to confeſs ſuch a contract. The afflicted primate, who ſat as judge, thought himſelf obliged, by this confeſſion, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid; and Henry, in the tranſports of his malignant proſecution did not ſee, that if her marriage had been invalid from the beginning, the ſentence for adultery muſt have been invalid alſo.

She who had been once the envied object of royal favour, was now going to give a melancholy inſtance of the capriciouſneſs of fortune: upon her returning to priſon, ſhe once more ſent proteſtations of her innocence to the king. "You have raiſed me, ſaid ſhe, from privacy to make me a lady; from a lady you made me a counteſs; from a counteſs, a queen; and from a queen I ſhall ſhortly become a ſaint in heaven." On the morning of her execution, ſhe ſent for Kingſtone, the keeper of the Tower, to whom, upon entering the priſon, ſhe ſaid, "Mr. Kingſtone, I hear I am not to die till noon, and I am ſorry for it; for I thought to be dead before this time, and free from a life of pain." The keeper at-

attempting to comfort her, by aſſuring her the pain would be very little: ſhe replied, "I have heard the executioner is very expert; and (claſping her neck with her hands, laughing,) I have but a little neck." When brought to the ſcaffold, from a conſideration of her child Elizabeth's welfare, ſhe would not inflame the minds of the ſpectators againſt her proſecutors, but contented herſelf with ſaying, "that ſhe was come to die as ſhe was ſentenced by the law." She would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged; ſhe prayed heartily for the king, and called him "a moſt merciful, and gentle prince; that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and that if any one ſhould think proper to canvaſs her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt." She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over as much more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower. Anne Boleyn ſeemed to be guilty of no other crime than that of having ſurvived the king's affections; and although many crowned heads were already put to death in England, ſhe was the firſt that underwent all the forms of law, and was beheaded on a ſcaffold.

The people, in general, beheld her fate with pity; but ſtill more, when they diſcovered the cauſe of the tyrant's impatience to deſtroy her; for the very next day after her execution, he married the lady Jane Seymour, his cruel heart being no way ſoftened by the wretched fate of one that had been ſo lately the object of his warmeſt affections. He alſo ordered his parliament

ment to give him a divorce between her ſentence and execution; and thus he endeavoured to baſtardiſe Elizabeth, the only child he had by her, as he had in the ſame manner formerly baſtardiſed Mary, his only child by queen Catharine.

It is eaſy to imagine, that ſuch various innovations, and capricious cruelties, were not felt by the people without indignation; but their murmurs were fruitleſs, and their complaints diſregarded. Henry now made himſelf umpire between thoſe of the ancient ſuperſtition and the modern reformation; both looked up to him for aſſiſtance, and at mutual enmity with each other, he took the advantage of all. Beſide, he had all the powerful men of the nation on his ſide, by the many grants he had made them of the lands and goods of which he had deſpoiled the monaſteries. It was eaſy for him, therefore, to quell the various inſurrections which his preſent arbitrary conduct produced, as they were neither headed by any powerful man, nor conducted with any kind of foreſight, but merely the tumultuary efforts of anguiſh and deſpair. The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire, headed by doctor Mackrel, prior of Barlings; and though this tumultuary army amounted to twenty thouſand men, upon a proclamation being made with aſſurances of pardon, the populace diſperſed; and Mackrel, with ſome more of the leaders, falling into the king's hands, were put to death. Another riſing followed ſoon after, in the North, amounting to above forty thouſand men, who were preceded by prieſts, carrying the enſigns of their function before the army; and all ſeeming chiefly inſpired with an enmity againſt Cromwell, whom they conſidered as the inſtigator of

the king's ſeverities. But theſe alſo were ſoon diſperſed upon finding their proviſions grown ſhort; after having in vain endeavoured to attack the duke of Norfolk's army, which was ſent againſt them, and from which they were ſeparated by a rivulet that was ſwoln by heavy rains. A new inſurrection broke out ſhortly after, headed by Muſgrave and Tilby; but the inſurgents were diſperſed and put to flight by the duke of Norfolk. Beſides, one Aſke, a gentleman of that part of the country, who led the firſt inſurrection, lord D'Arcy, ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir John Bulmer, ſir Thomas Percy, ſir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt, and William Lumley, where thrown into priſon, condemned, and executed. Henry, enraged by multiplied revolts, was reſolved to put no bounds to his ſeverities; and the birth of a prince, afterwards Edward the Sixth, and the death of the queen, who ſurvived this joyful occaſion but two days, made but a ſmall pauſe in the fierce ſeverity with which thoſe were treated who were found to oppoſe his will.

In the midſt of theſe commotions, the fires of Smithfield were ſeen to blaze with unuſual fierceneſs. Thoſe who adhered to the pope, or thoſe who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance, and eccleſiaſtical perſecution. From the multiplied alterations which were made in the national ſyſtems of belief, moſtly drawn up by Henry himſelf, few knew what to think, or what to profeſs. They were ready enough, indeed, to follow his doctrines, how inconſiſtent or contradictory ſoever; but as he was continually changing them himſelf, they could hardly purſue ſo faſt as he ad- Oct. 12, 1537.

advanced before them. Thomas Cromwell, raiſed by the king's caprice, from being a blackſmith's ſon, to be a royal favourite, for tyrants ever raiſe their favourites from the loweſt of the people, together with Cranmer, now become archbiſhop of Canterbury, were both ſeen to favour the reformation with all their endeavours. On the other hand, Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, together with the duke of Norfolk, were for leading the king back to his original ſuperſtition. In fact, Henry ſubmitted to neither; his pride had long been ſo enflamed by flattery, that he thought himſelf entitled to regulate, by his own ſingle opinion, the religious faith of the whole nation.

In this univerſal terror and degeneracy of mankind, during which the ſeverities of one man alone ſeemed to be ſufficient to keep millions in awe, there was a poor ſchool-maſter in London, who boldly ſtood up for the rights of humanity, and ventured to think for himſelf. This man's name was John Lambert, who hearing doctor Taylor preach upon the real preſence in the ſacrament, preſented him with his reaſons for contradicting that doctrine. The paper was carried to Cranmer and Latimer, who were then of the opinion of Luther on that head, and endeavoured to bring him over to their opinions. But Lambert remained ſteady in his belief; and they were mortified when, inſtead of recanting, he appealed to the king himſelf. This was a challenge that pleaſed Henry's vanity, and willing at once to exert his ſupremacy, and diſplay his learning, he accepted the appeal; and public notice was given of his intended diſputation. For this purpoſe, ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-

minſter-hall for the accommodation of the audience and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enſigns of majeſty. The prelates were placed on his right hand, the temporal peers on his left. The judges, and moſt eminent lawyers, had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops; the courtiers of the greateſt diſtinction behind the peers. Poor Lambert was produced in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly, with not one creature to defend or ſupport him. The biſhop of Cheſter opened the conference by declaring, that the king, notwithſtanding any ſlight alterations he had made in the rights of the church,* was yet determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith; and to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all departure from it. After this preamble, ſufficient to terrify the boldeſt diſputant, the king aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of tranſubſtantiation? When Lambert began his oration with a compliment to his majeſty, Henry rejected his praiſe with diſdain and indignation. He afterwards entered upon the diſcuſſion of that abſtruſe queſtion; and endeavoured to preſs Lambert with ſome arguments, drawn from the ſcriptures and the ſchoolmen. At every word the audience were ready to ſecond him with their applauſe and admiration. Lambert, however, no way diſcouraged, was not ſlow to reply; but here Cranmer ſtept in and ſeconded the king's proofs by ſome new topics. Gardiner entered the liſts in ſupport of Cranmer; Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokeſly brought freſh aid to Tonſtal. Six biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field againſt the poor ſolitary diſputator, who, for five hours long, attempted

to vindicate his doctrines, till at laſt, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abaſhed, he was reduced to ſilence. The king then returning to the charge, demanded if he was convinced; and whether he choſe to gain life by recantation, or to die for his obſtinacy? Lambert, no way intimidated, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency; to which Henry replied, "That he would never protect a heretic; and, therefore, if that was his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames." Lambert, no way terrified, heard Cromwell read the ſentence, by which he was condemned to be burnt alive, with the utmoſt compoſure; and, as if his perſecutors were reſolved to try his fortitude, the executioners were ordered to make his puniſhment as painful as they could. He was, therefore, burned at a ſlow fire, his legs and thighs being firſt conſumed; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, ſome of the guards more merciful than the reſt, lifted him on their halberts; and while he yet continued to cry out, "None but Chriſt! None but Chriſt!" he was wholly conſumed by the ſurrounding fire.

This poor man's death ſeemed to be only a ſignal for that of many more. Adulation had whiſpered the king with ſuch an opinion of his own ability, that he now reſolved to puniſh rigorouſly all thoſe who ſhould preſume to differ from him in point of opinion, without making any diſtinction between Catholic or Lutheran. Soon after, no leſs than five hundred perſons were impriſoned for contradicting the opinions delivered in the bloody ſtatute; and received protection only from the lenity of Cromwell. For, ſome time after, doctor Barnes, who had been

been inſtrumental in Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the ſeverity of the perſecuting ſpirit; and by a bill in parliament, without any trial, was condemned to the flames, diſcuſſing theological queſtions at the very ſtake. With Barnes were executed one Gerrard and Jerome, for the ſame opinions. Three Catholics alſo, whoſe names were Abel, Fetherſtone, and Powel, were dragged upon the ſame hurdles to execution; and declared, that the most grievous part of their puniſhment was the being coupled with ſuch heretical miſcreants as were united in the ſame calamity.

During theſe horrid tranſactions Henry was reſolved to take another queen, and, after ſome negotiation upon the continent, he contracted a marriage with Anne of Cleves, his aim being by her means to fortify his alliances with the princes of Germany. Nor was he led into this match without a moſt ſcrupulous examination on his ſide, of the lady's perſonal accompliſhments. He was aſſured by his envoy that ſhe was of a very large perſon, which was the more pleaſing to him, as he was at that time become very corpulent, and conſequently required a ſimilar figure in a wife. He was ſtill farther allured by her picture, in which Holbein who drew it, was, it ſeems, more a friend to his art than to truth; for he greatly flattered her. The king upon her landing went privately to meet her at Rocheſter, where he was very much damped in his amorous ardour. He found her big indeed, and tall as he could wiſh, but utterly devoid of grace and beauty; ſhe could alſo ſpeak but one language, her native German; ſo that her converſation could never recompenſe the defects of her perſon.

He ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders mare; and added, that he could never ſettle his affections upon her. However, ſenſible that he would greatly diſoblige her brother the duke, and conſequently all the German princes in his alliance, he reſolved to marry her; and he told Cromwell, who was chiefly inſtrumental in this affair, that ſince he had gone ſo far, he would put his neck into the yoke, whatever it coſt him. The marriage was accordingly celebrated; but the king's diſguſt was only increaſed by it; he told Cromwell the next morning, that he hated her more than ever; and even ſuſpected her not to be a true maid, a circumſtance in which he thought himſelf extremely ſkilful. Cromwell ſaw the danger he incurred by having been inſtrumental in forming this union; but he endeavoured by his aſſiduity, and humble adulation, to keep the king from coming to extremities with him.

But he ſhould have known that a tyrant once offended is implacable. Henry's averſion to the queen ſecretly increaſed every day; and he at length reſolved to get rid of her, and his prime miniſter together. The fall of this favourite was long and ardently wiſhed for by a great part of the nation. The nobility hated a man, who, from ſuch mean beginnings, was placed before the firſt perſons in the kingdom; for beſides being made vicar-general, which gave him almoſt abſolute authority over the clergy, he was lord privy-ſeal, lord-chamberlain, and maſter of the wards. He had alſo obtained the order of the Garter, a dignity which had hitherto been only conferred on the moſt illuſtrious families; and to carry his exaltation ſtill higher, he had been made earl of Eſſex. The pro-

proteſtants diſliked him for his concurrence with the king's will in their perſecution; and the papiſts deteſted him, as the inveterate enemy of their religion. It only remained, therefore, with the king to haſten or retard the puniſhment of a man who had ſcarce a partiſan in the nation, except himſelf. But he had a ſtrong cauſe of diſlike to him for his late unpropitious alliance; and a new motive was ſoon added for increaſing his diſpleaſure. He had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and the only method of gratifying this new paſſion was, as in former caſes, diſcarding the preſent queen to make room for a new one. The duke of Norfolk had long been Cromwell's mortal enemy, and eagerly embraced this opportunity to deſtroy a man he conſidered as his rival. He therefore made uſe of all his niece's arts to ruin the favourite; and when his project was ripe for execution, he obtained a commiſſion from the king to arreſt Cromwell for high-treaſon. His diſgrace was no ſooner known, than all his friends forſook him, except Cranmer, who wrote ſuch a letter to Henry in his behalf, as no other man in the kingdom would have preſumed to offer. However, he was accuſed in parliament of hereſy and treaſon; and without being ever heard in his own defence, condemned to ſuffer the pains of death, as the king ſhould think proper to direct. Cromwell's fortitude ſeemed to forſake him in this dreadful exigency. He wrote to the king for pardon; ſaid, that the frail fleſh incited him continually to apply to his grace for mercy, and ſubſcribed his epiſtle with a heavy heart, and a trembling hand, "from the king's moſt miſerable priſoner

and poor ſlave at the Tower, Thomas Cromwell. Mercy, mercy, mercy."

Cromwell's letter touched the hard heart of the monarch; he ordered it to be read to him three times; and then, as if willing to gain a victory over all his ſofter feelings, he ſigned the warrant for beheading him upon Tower-Hill. When he was brought to the ſcaffold, his regard for his ſon hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence; he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his tranſgreſſions, confeſſed he had often been ſeduced, but that he now died in the catholic faith. It was thus that Henry, not ſatisfied with the death of thoſe whom he choſe to puniſh, repreſſed their complaints alſo; and terrified the unhappy ſufferers from the laſt conſolation of the wretched, the ſatisfaction of upbraiding their perſecutors. In this manner, the unhappy ſufferer having ſpent ſome time in his private devotions, ſubmitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a moſt terrible manner. A few days after his death, a number of people were executed together upon very different accuſations. Some for having denied the king's ſupremacy, and others for having maintained the doctrines of Luther.

About a month after the death of Cromwell, the king declared his marriage with Catharine Howard, whom he had ſome time before privately eſpouſed. This was regarded as a very favourable incident by the catholic party; and the ſubſequent events for a while turned out to their wiſh. The king's councils being now entirely directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious perſecution commenced againſt the proteſtants; and the law of the ſix articles was executed with rigour;

rigour; ſo that a foreigner, who was then reſiding in England, had reaſon to ſay, that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were hanged. The king, with an oſtentatious impartiality, reduced both parties to an equal ſhare of ſubordination, and infuſed terror into every breaſt.

But the meaſure of his ſeverities was not yet filled up. He had thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage. He was ſo captivated with the queen's accompliſhments, that he gave public thanks for his felicity, and deſired his confeſſor to join with him in the ſame thankſgiving. This joy, however, was of very ſhort duration. While the king was at York, upon an intended conference with the king of Scotland, a man of the name of Laſcelles had waited upon Cranmer at London; and from the information of this man's ſiſter, who had been ſervant to the ducheſs-dowager of Norfolk, he gave a very ſurpriſing account of the queen's incontinence. He averred that ſhe led a very lewd life before her marriage, and had carried on a ſcandalous correſpondence with two men, called Derham and Mannock; and that ſhe continued to indulge herſelf in the ſame criminal pleaſures ſince ſhe had been raiſed to her preſent greatneſs. Cranmer was equally ſurpriſed and embarraſſed at this intelligence, which he communicated to the chancellor, and ſome other members of the privy-council, who adviſed him to make the king acquainted with the whole affair on his return to London. The archbiſhop knew the hazards he ran by intermeddling in ſuch delicate points; but he alſo knew the dangers he incurred by ſuppreſſing his information. He therefore reſolved to

communicate what he had heard by writing, in the form of a memorial; and this he ſhortly after delivered into the king's own hand, deſiring his majeſty to read it in private. Henry at firſt diſbelieved, or pretended to diſbelieve the report; he ordered the keeper of the privy-ſeal to examine Laſcelles, who perſiſted in his former narrative; and even produced his ſiſter to confirm his account. Upon this, Derham and Mannock were arreſted; and they quickly confeſſed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinence. They went ſtill farther, by impeaching the old lady Rochford, who had formerly been ſo inſtrumental in procuring the death of Anne Boleyn. They alleged that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bed-chamber, who ſtayed with her from eleven at night till four in the morning. When the queen was firſt examined relative to her crime, ſhe denied the charge; but afterwards finding that her accomplices were her accuſers, ſhe confeſſed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having diſhonoured the king's bed ſince their union. But three maids of honour, who were admitted to her ſecrets, ſtill farther alleged her guilt; and ſome of them confeſſed having paſſed the night in the ſame bed with her and her lovers. The king was ſo affected at this diſcovery, that he burſt into a flood of tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortune. Derham, Mannock, and Culpepper, were convicted and executed; but he was reſolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had always ſhown themſelves the ready miniſters of all his ſeverities. Theſe ſervile creatures, upon being informed of the queen's crime and confeſſion, found her quickly

quickly guilty, and petitioned the king that ſhe might be puniſhed with death; that the ſame penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice of her debaucheries; and that her grand-mother, the ducheſs-dowager of Norfolk, together with her father, mother, and nine others, men and women, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, ſhould participate in her puniſhment. With this petition the king was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to agree; they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the ſame time made it capital for all perſons to conceal their knowledge of the debaucheries of any future queen. It was alſo enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon in caſe ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt. The people made merry with this abſurd and brutal ſtatute; and it was ſaid, that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow. After all theſe laws were paſſed, in which the moſt wonderful circumſtance is, that a body of men could ever be induced to give their conſent, the queen was beheaded on Tower-Hill, together with the lady Rochford, who found no great degree of compaſſion, as ſhe had herſelf before tampered in blood. The queen was more pitied, as ſhe owned that ſhe had led a diſſolute life before marriage; but denied in her laſt moments, and with the utmoſt ſolemnity, that ſhe had ever been untrue ſince her marriage with the king. The public exclaimed ſo loudly againſt the ſeverity of the act, which brought in ſo many accomplices of her guilt, that the king did not think proper to execute

ecute ſentence upon them, though ſome of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry having thus, by various acts of tyranny, ſhown that he was abandoned to all ideas of juſtice, morals, or humanity, at laſt took it into his head to compoſe a book of religion, which was to be the code by which his ſubjects ſhould for the future regulate all their belief and
A. D. 1541. actions. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpoſe, in which all ſpiritual ſupremacy was declared to be veſted in him, he publiſhed a ſmall volume ſoon after, called the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible ſtandard of orthodoxy. All the abſtruſe points of juſtification, faith, free-will, good-works, and grace, are there defined with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the ſacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are there increaſed to their original number of ſeven, conformable to the ſentiments of the catholics. But the king was not long ſatisfied with this code of belief; for he ſoon after procured a new book to be compoſed, called the Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, which he publiſhed upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed a great deal from the former, yet he was no leſs poſitive in requiring aſſent to this than he had been to the former. In both theſe books he was very explicit in enforcing the doctrine of paſſive obedience; ſo that his inſtitutions were not likely to weaken what he ſo powerfully enforced by his ſeverities.

But his authority in religion was not more uncontrouled than in temporal concerns. An alderman, one Read, who had refuſed to aſſiſt him with

with a benevolence, was preſſed as a private centinel, and ſent to ſerve in an army which was levied againſt an incurſion of the Scots. In this manner, all who oppoſed his will, were either preſſed or impriſoned, happy if they eſcaped with ſuch ſlight puniſhments. His parliament made a law, by which the king's proclamations were to have the ſame force as ſtatutes; and to facilitate the execution of this act, by which all ſhadow of liberty was totally removed, they appointed that any nine of the privy-council ſhould form a legal court for puniſhing diſobedience to all proclamations. Thus the king was empowered to iſſue a proclamation to deſtroy the lives, or take away the properties of any of his ſubjects: and the only redreſs was to himſelf in council.

In about a year after the death of the laſt queen, Henry once more changed his condition by marrying his ſixth and laſt wife, Catharine Parr, who, according to the ridiculous ſuggeſtions of the people, was, in fact, a widow. She was the wife of the late lord Latimer; and was conſidered as a woman of diſcretion and virtue. She was already paſſed the meridian of life, and managed this capricious tyrant's temper with prudence and ſucceſs. His amiable days had long been over: he was almoſt choaked with fat, and had contracted a moroſe air, very far from inſpiring affection. Nevertheleſs, this woman, ſacrificing her appetites to her ambition, ſo far prevailed in gaining his confidence, that ſhe was appointed regent of the kingdom during his abſence in France, whither he paſſed over at the head of thirty thouſand men, to proſecute a war which had been declared between him and the French king. He there behaved, as in all his

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his former undertakings, with ineffectual oſtentation. Inſtead of marching into the heart of the country, he ſat down before Boulogne, which was obliged to capitulate; and his ally, the emperor, making a ſeparate peace, Henry was obliged to return with his army into England, where he found his ſubjects ready to offer him their accuſtomed adulation, and to praiſe him for an enterpriſe in which, at an infinite charge, he had made an acquiſition that was of no manner of benefit.

But of all his ſubjects none ſeemed more abandoned, and baſely ſervile than the parliament, which it might have been reaſonably ſuppoſed would rather be the protectors of the people than the ſlaves of the crown. Upon his return from his expenſive French expedition, after profeſſions of the greateſt ſubmiſſion and profound acknowledgment, they granted him a ſubſidy equal to his demands, and added to it a gift, which will make their memory odious to the moſt diſtant poſterity. By one vote they beſtowed upon him all the revenues of the two univerſities, as well as ſome other places of education and public worſhip. But rapacious as this monarch was, he refrained from deſpoiling thoſe venerable ſeminaries of their ancient endowments; however, they owed their ſafety to his lenity, and not to the protection of this baſe and degenerate parliament. Nor was he leſs juſt upon another occaſion with regard to the ſuggeſtions of his council, who had long conceived an hatred againſt Cranmer and laboured to deſtroy him. This juſt and moderate man had all along owed his ſafety to his integrity; and ſcorning intrigue himſelf, was therefore the leſs liable to be circum-

cumvented by the intrigues of others. The catholic party had long repreſented to the king that Cranmer was the ſecret cauſe of moſt of the diviſions which tore the nation, as his example and ſupport were the chief props of hereſy. Henry ſeeing the point to which they tended, and deſirous of knowing how far they would carry their intrigues, feigned a compliance with their wiſhes, and ordered the council to make inquiry into the primate's conduct and crimes. All the world concluded that his diſgrace was certain, and his death inevitable. His old friends who, from mercenary motives, had been attached to him, now began to treat him with mortifying neglect; he was obliged to ſtand ſeveral hours among the ſervants at the door of the council-chamber before they deigned to admit him; and he made his appearance among them only to be informed that they had determined to ſend him to the Tower. But Cranmer was not to be intimidated with their menaces; he appealed to the king; and when that was denied him, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him, to make uſe of upon that emergency. The council was confounded; and ſtill more ſo, when, in the preſence of the king, they found themſelves ſeverely reproved, and Cranmer taken into more than former favour. Henry obliged them all to embrace, as a ſign of their reconciliation; and Cranmer, from his gentle nature, rendered this reconciliation more ſincere on his part than is uſual in ſuch forced compliances.

Still, however, the king's ſeverity to the reſt of his ſubjects continued as fierce as ever. For ſome time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpu-

corpulence, and other infirmities, increaſed his natural iraſcibility to ſuch a degree, that ſcarce any, of even his domeſtics, approached him without terror. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any who differed from him in opinion, ſhould, at this time particularly; hope for pardon. Among the many, whoſe unmerited ſufferings excite our pity and indignation, the fate of Anne Aſkew deſerves to be particularly remembered. This lady was a woman of merit as well as beauty, and connected with many of the principal ladies at court. It is ſaid that ſhe kept up a correſpondence with the queen herſelf, who ſecretly favoured the reformation; and this correſpondence only ſerved to haſten this poor woman's ruin, the chancellor being known to be her enemy. However this be, ſhe happened to differ from the eſtabliſhed code of belief, particularly in the article of the real preſence; and, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of her ſex and age, ſhe was thrown into priſon, and accuſed of hereſy. In this ſituation, with courage far beyond what might be expected, ſhe employed her time in compoſing prayers and diſcourſes, and vindicating the truth of her opinions. The chancellor, who was much attached to the catholic party, was ſent to examine her with regard to her abettors at court; but ſhe maintained the utmoſt ſecrecy, and would accuſe none. In conſequence of this contumacy, as it was called, the poor young lady was put to the torture; but ſhe ſtill continued reſolute, and her ſilence teſtified her contempt of their petty cruelties. The chancellor, therefore, became outrageous, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower, who executed this puniſhment, to ſtretch the rack ſtill harder; which he refuſing

to

to do, and, though menaced, ſtill perſiſting in a refuſal, the chancellor, intoxicated with religious zeal, graſped the cords himſelf, and drew it ſo violently that the woman's body was almoſt torn aſunder. But her conſtancy was greater than the barbarity of her perſecutors; ſo that, finding no other method to ſubdue her, ſhe was condemned to be burned alive. She received this ſentence with a tranſport of joy, and as a releaſe from a ſtate of the greateſt pain to the greateſt felicity. As all her joints had been diſlocated by the rack, ſo that ſhe could not ſtand, ſhe was carried to the place of execution in a chair. Together with her were brought Nicholas Belenian, a prieſt, John Laſcelles of the king's houſehold, and John Adams a taylor, who had all been condemned for the ſame crime. They were tied to the ſtake; and in that dreadful ſituation informed, that upon recanting, they ſhould be granted their lives. But they refuſed a life that was to be gained by ſuch proſtitution; and they ſaw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which conſumed them.

From this indiſcriminate ſeverity the queen was not herſelf entirely ſecure. She had for ſome time attended the king in his indiſpoſition, and endeavoured to ſooth him by her arts and aſſiduity. His favourite topic of converſation was theology; and Catharine, who was tinctured with the ſpirit of the times, would now and then enter into a debate with him upon many ſpeculative tenets, that were then in agitation between the Catholics and Lutherans. Henry, highly provoked that ſhe ſhould preſume to differ from him, made complaints of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to in-

inflame the quarrel. Even articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt her, which were brought to the king by the chancellor to be ſigned; but in returning home, he happened to drop the paper. It was very lucky for the queen that the perſon who found it was in her intereſts; it was immediately carried to her, and the contents ſoon made her ſenſible of the danger to which ſhe was expoſed. In this exigence ſhe was reſolved to work upon the king; and paying him her cuſtomary viſit, he led her as uſual to the ſubject of theology, which at firſt ſhe ſeemed to decline, but in which ſhe afterwards engaged, as if merely to gratify his inclinations. In the courſe of her converſation, however, ſhe gave him to know, that her whole aim in talking was to receive his inſtructions, and not to controvert them; that it was not for her to ſet her opinions in oppoſition to thoſe that ſerved to direct the nation; but ſhe alleged, ſhe could not help trying every art that could induce the king to exert that eloquence which ſerved, for the time, to mitigate his bodily pain. Henry ſeemed charmed at this diſcovery; "And is it ſo, ſweet heart? cried he: then we are perfect friends again." Juſt after this reconciliation, the chancellor made his appearance, with a party of forty purſuivants at his heels, prepared to take the queen into cuſtody. But the king advanced to meet him, and ſeemed to expoſtulate with him in the ſevereſt terms. The queen could overhear the terms, knave, fool, and beaſt, which he very liberally beſtowed upon that magiſtrate; and his being ered to depart. When he was gone, ſhe in- in his defence; but the king could not help

help ſaying, "Poor ſoul, you know not how little entitled this man is to your good offices." From thenceforth the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by contradiction; ſhe was contented to ſuffer the divines to diſpute, and the executioner to deſtroy. The fires accordingly were kindled againſt the heretics of both ſides, as uſual; during which dreadful exhibitions, the king would frequently aſſemble the houſes of parliament, and harangue them with florid orations, in which he would aver, that never prince had a greater affection for his people, nor ever people had a greater affection for their king. In every pauſe of theſe extraordinary orations, ſome of his creatures, near his perſon, would begin to applaud; and this was followed by loud acclamations from all the reſt of the audience.

But though his health was declining apace, yet his implacable cruelties were not the leſs frequent. His reſentments were diffuſed indiſcriminately to all; at one time a proteſtant, and at another a catholic, were the objects of his ſeverity. The duke of Norfolk, and his ſon the earl of Surry, were the laſt that felt the injuſtice of the tyrant's groundleſs ſuſpicions. The duke was a nobleman who had ſerved the king with talents and fidelity; his ſon was a young man of the moſt promiſing hopes, who excelled in every accompliſhment that became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He excelled in all the military exerciſes which were then in requeſt; he encouraged the fine arts by his practice and example; and it is remarkable, that he was the firſt who brought our language, in his poetical pieces, to any degree of refinement. He celebrated

brated the fair Geraldina in all his ſonnets, and maintained her ſuperior beauty in all places of public contention. Theſe qualifications, however, were no ſafeguard to him againſt Henry's ſuſpicions; he had dropt ſome expreſſions of reſentment againſt the king's miniſters, upon being diſplaced from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family was become obnoxious from the late incontinency of Catharine Howard, the queen, who was executed. From theſe motives, therefore, private orders were given to arreſt the father and ſon; and accordingly they were arreſted both on the ſame day, and confined in the Tower. Surry being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, there were many informers baſe enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence, and all the connections of blood. The duchess dowager of Richmond, Surry's own ſiſter, enliſted herſelf among the number of his accuſers; and ſir Richard Southwell alſo, his moſt intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It would ſeem that, at this dreary period, there was neither faith nor honour to be found in all the nation. Surry denied the charge, and challenged his accuſer to ſingle combat. This favour was refuſed him; and it was alleged, that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his eſcutcheon, which alone was ſufficient to convict him of aſpiring to the crown. To this he could make no reply; and indeed any anſwer would have been needleſs, for neither parliaments nor juries, during this reign, ſeemed to be guided by any other proofs but the will of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high-treaſon, notwithſtanding

ſtanding his eloquent and ſpirited defence; and the ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him on Tower-Hill. In the mean time the duke endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and ſubmiſſions; but the monſter's hard heart was rarely ſubject to tender impreſſions. The parliament meeting on the fourteenth day of January, A D 1546. a bill of attainder was found againſt the duke of Norfolk, as it was thought he could not ſo eaſily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime that his accuſers could allege againſt him was, that he had once ſaid that the king was ſickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending parties of different perſuaſions. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an oppoſite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in ſo unjuſt a proſecution; but retired to his ſeat at Croydon. However, the death-warrant was made out, and immediately ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death, as the following morning was to be his laſt; but an event of greater conſequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been for ſome time approaching faſt towards his end; and for ſeveral days all thoſe about his perſon plainly ſaw that his ſpeedy death was inevitable. The diſorder in his leg was now grown extremely painful; and this, added to his monſtrous corpulency, which rendered him unable to ſtir, made him more furious than a chained lion. He had been ever ſtern and ſevere; he was now outrageous. In this ſtate he had continued for near four years before

his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himself; his courtiers having no inclination to make an enemy of him, as they were more ardently employed in conspiring the death of each other. In this manner, therefore, he was suffered to struggle, without any of his domestics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as more than once, during this reign, persons had been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At last, sir Anthony Denny had the courage to disclose to him this dreadful secret; and, contrary to his usual custom, he received the tidings with an expression of resignation. His anguish and remorse were at this time greater than can be expressed; he desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before that prelate could arrive, he was speechless. Cranmer desiring him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, he squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years, and nine months, in the fifty-sixth
A. D. 1547. year of his age. Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt, some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party. But Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. Our divines have taken some pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct and our reformation had any connexion with each other. There is nothing so absurd as to defend the one by the other; the most noble designs are brought about by the most vicious instruments; for we see even that cruelty and injustice were thought necessary to be employed in our holy redemp-

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With regard to foreign ſtates, Henry made ſome expeditions into France, which were attended with vaſt expenſe to the nation; and brought it no kind of advantage. However, he all along maintained an intercourſe of friendſhip with Francis, which appeared diſintereſted and ſincere. Againſt the Scots he was rather more ſucceſsful; his generals having worſted their incurſive armies on ſeveral occaſions. They particularly gained a ſignal advantage, beſides that already related of Flodden-field, at a place near Pinkey-houſe, in which near ten thouſand Scots were ſlain. But that which gave England the greateſt aſcendency over that nation, was the ſpirit of concord which ſoon after ſeemed to prevail between the two kingdoms, and that ſeemed to pave the way for their being in time united under the ſame ſovereign. There were ten parliaments ſummoned in this reign, and twenty-three ſeſſions held; but the whole time in which theſe parliaments ſat, during this long reign, did not exceed three years and a half. The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was moſtly confined to the Netherlands. The merchants of the Low-Countries bought the Engliſh commodities, and diſtributed them into the other parts of Europe. Theſe commodities, however, were generally little more than the natural productions of the country, without any manufactures; for it muſt be obſerved at this time that foreign artificers much ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in dexterity, induſtry, and frugality; and it is ſaid that at one time not leſs than fifteen thouſand artiſans of the Flemiſh nation alone were ſettled in London.



CHAP. XXIV.

EDWARD VI.

HENRY the Eighth was ſucceeded on the throne by his only ſon, Edward the Sixth, then in the ninth year of his age. The late king, in his will, which he expected would be abſolutely obeyed, fixed his majority of the prince at the completion of the eighteenth year; and in the mean time appointed ſixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he entruſted the government of the king and kingdom. But the vanity of his aims was ſoon diſcovered; for the firſt act of the executors was to chuſe the earl of Hertford, who was afterwards made duke of Somerſet,

Somerſet, as protector of the realm, and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming whom he would for his privy-council.

This was a favourable ſeaſon for thoſe of the reformed religion; and the eyes of the late king were no ſooner cloſed than all of that perſuaſion congratulated themſelves on the event. They no longer ſuppreſſed their ſentiments, but maintained their doctrines in preaching and teaching, even while againſt them continued in full force. The protector had long been regarded as the ſ[illegible]ion of the reformers; and, being now [illegible]om reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to [illegible] of correcting all the abuſes of the ancient religion, and of ſtill more the doctrines propagated by Luther. His power was not a little ſtrengthened by his ſucceſs againſt an incurſion of the Scots, in which about eight hundred of their army were ſlain; and the popularity which he gained upon this occaſion, ſeconded his views in the farther propagation of the new doctrines. But the character of Somerſet did not ſtand in need of the mean ſupports of popularity acquired in this manner, as he was naturally humble, civil, affable and courteous to the meaneſt ſuitor, while all his actions were directed by motives of piety and honour.

The protector, in his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averſe to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by inſenſible innovations to his own peculiar ſyſtem. The perſon who oppoſed with the greateſt

eſt authority any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who, though he had not obtained a place at the council-board, yet from his age, experience, and capacity, was regarded by moſt men with ſome degree of veneration. Upon a general viſitation of the church, which had been commanded by the primate and protector, Gardiner defended the uſe of images, which was now very openly attacked by the proteſtants; he even wrote an apology for holy water; but he particularly alleged, that it was unlawful to make any change in religion during the king's minority. This oppoſition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was ſent to the Fleet priſon, where he was uſed with much harſhneſs and ſeverity.

Theſe internal regulations were in ſome meaſure retarded by the war with Scotland, which ſtill continued to rage with ſome violence. But a defeat which that nation ſuffered at Muſſelborough, in which above ten thouſand periſhed in the field of battle, induced them to ſue for peace, in order to gain time; and the protector returned to ſettle the buſineſs of the reformation, which was as yet only begun. But, though he acquired great popularity by this expedition, he did not fail to attract the envy of ſeveral noblemen, by procuring a patent from the young king his nephew, to ſit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and to enjoy the ſame honours and privileges which had uſually been granted the uncles of kings in England. However, he ſtill drove on his favourite ſchemes of reformation, and gave more conſiſtency to the tenets of the church. The cup was reſtored to

the laity in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; private maſſes were aboliſhed; the king was empowered to create biſhops by letters patent. Vagabonds were adjudged to be ſlaves for two years, and to be marked with a red-hot iron; an act commonly ſuppoſed to be levelled againſt the ſtrolling prieſts and friars. It was enacted alſo, that all who denied the king's ſupremacy, or aſſerted the pope's, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and ſuffer impriſonment during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence they were to incur the pain of premunire, and for the third offence to be attainted of treaſon. Orders were ſoon after iſſued by the council that candles ſhould no longer be carried about on Candlemas day, aſhes on Aſh Wedneſday, or palms on Palm Sunday. Theſe were ancient ſuperſtitious practices, which led to immoralities that it was thought proper to reſtrain. An order alſo was iſſued for the removal of all images from the churches; an innovation which was much deſired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almoſt to a change of the eſtabliſhed religion. The people had for ſome time been extremely diſtracted by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable of judging the arguments advanced on either ſide, and naturally regarded every thing they heard at church as of the greateſt authority, much confuſion and fluctuation reſulted from this uncertainty. The council firſt endeavoured to remove the inconvenience by laying ſome reſtraints upon preaching; but finding this expedient fail, they impoſed a total ſilence upon preachers, which, however, was

removed

removed by degrees, in proportion as the reformation gained ground among the people.

But theſe innovations, evidently calculated for the good of the people, were not brought about without ſome ſtruggles at home, while the protector was but too buſily employed againſt the Scots, who united with, and ſeconded by France, ſtill puſhed on their inroads with unremitting animoſity. Beſides, there was ſtill an enemy that he had yet to fear more than any of the former; and this was his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, but proud, turbulent, and untractable. This nobleman could not endure the diſtinction which the king had always made between him and his elder brother; ſo that they divided the whole court and the kingdom by their oppoſite cabals and pretenſions. By his flattery and addreſs, he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe married him immediately upon the deceaſe of the late king. This match was particularly diſpleaſing to the elder brother's wife, who now ſaw that while her huſband had the precedency in one place, ſhe was obliged to yield it in another. His next ſtep was to cabal and make a party among the nobility, who, as they hated his brother, fomented his ambition. He then bribed the king's domeſtics to his intereſt; and young Edward frequently went to his houſe, on pretence of viſiting the queen. There he ingratiated himſelf with his ſovereign, by the moſt officious aſſiduities, particularly by ſupplying him with money to diſtribute among his ſervants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor.

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In the protector's abſence with the army in Scotland, he made it his buſineſs to redouble all his arts and inſinuations; and thus obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget perceiving the progreſs he daily made in the king's affection, wrote to the protector on the ſubject, who finiſhed the campaign in Scotland with all poſſible diſpatch, that he might return in time to counter-work his machinations. But before he could arrive in England, the admiral had engaged in his party ſeveral of the principal nobility, and had even prevailed on the king himſelf to write a letter to the two houſes of parliament with his own hand, deſiring that the admiral might be appointed his governor; but the council being apprized of his ſchemes, ſent deputies to aſſure him, that if he did not deſiſt they would deprive him of his office, ſend him priſoner to the Tower, and proſecute him on the laſt act of parliament, by which he was ſubject to the penalty of high-treaſon, for attempting to diſturb the peace of the government. It was not without ſome ſevere ſtruggles within himſelf and ſome menaces divulged among his creatures, that he thought proper to ſubmit, and deſired to be reconciled to his brother. Yet he ſtill nouriſhed the ſame deſigns in ſecret; and his brother, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, employed ſpies to inform him of all his private tranſactions.

But it was not in the power of perſuaſions or menaces to ſhake the admiral's unalterable views of ambition. His ſpouſe, the queen-dowager, had died in child-bed; and this accident, far from repreſſing his ſchemes, only ſeemed to promote them. He made his addreſſes to the princeſs

ceſs Elizabeth, afterwards ſo revered by the Engliſh; and it is ſaid that ſhe liſtened to his inſinuations, contrary to the will of her father, who had excluded her the ſucceſſion, in caſe ſhe married without the conſent of council. The admiral, however, it is obſerved, had projects of getting over that objection; and his profeſſions ſeemed to give reaſon to believe that he intended aiming at regal authority. By promiſes and perſuaſions he brought over many of the principal nobility to his party; he neglected not even the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and he computed that he could on occaſion command the ſervice of ten thouſand men among his ſervants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their uſe; and having engaged in his intereſts
A. D. 1548. ſir John Sharrington, maſter of the mint at Briſtol, a very corrupt man, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting.

Somerſet being well aſcertained of all theſe alarming circumſtances, endeavoured by every expedient that his power or his near connection could ſuggeſt, to draw him from his deſigns. He reaſoned, he threatened, he heaped new favours upon him; but all to no purpoſe. At laſt he reſolved to make uſe of the laſt dreadful remedy, and to attaint his own brother of high-treaſon. In conſequence of this reſolution, and ſecretly adviſed to it by Dudley, earl of Warwick, a wicked ambitious man, who expected to riſe upon the downfal of the two brothers, he deprived him of his office of high admiral, and ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Yet ſtill the protector ſuſpended the blow, and ſhowed reluctance to ruin one ſo nearly connected with himſelf: he offered once more to

to be ſincerely reconciled, and give him his life, if he was contented to ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and repentance. But finding himſelf unable to work on the inflexible temper of his brother by any methods but ſeverity, he ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be brought into parliament, which was now become the inſtrument by which the adminiſtration uſually puniſhed their enemies. The charge being brought firſt into the houſe of lords, ſeveral peers riſing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words and actions. There was more difficulty in managing the proſecution in the houſe of commons; but upon receiving a meſſage from the king, requiring them to proceed, the bill paſſed in a very full houſe, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten againſt it. The ſentence was ſoon after executed by beheading him on Tower-Hill. His death, however, was, in general, diſagreeable to the nation, who conſidered the lord Seymour as hardly dealt with, in being condemned upon general allegations, without having an opportunity of making a defence, or confronting his accuſers. But the chief odium fell upon the protector; and it muſt be owned that there was no reaſon for carrying his ſeverity to ſuch a length as he did.

This obſtacle being removed, the protector went on to reform and regulate the new ſyſtem of religion, which was now become the chief concern of the nation. A committee of biſhops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the ſervice of the church; and

and this work was executed with great moderation, prudence, and accuracy. A law was also enacted, permitting priests to marry; the ceremony of auricular confession, though not abolished, was left at the discretion of the people, who were not displeased at being freed from the spiritual tyranny of their instructors; the doctrine of the real presence was the last tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people, as both the clergy and laity were loth to renounce so miraculous a benefit as it was asserted to be. However, at last not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the catholic religion contrary to what the scripture authorises were abolished; and the reformation such as we have it, was almost entirely
A.D 1549. completed in England. With all these innovations the people and clergy in general acquiesced; and Gardiner and Bonner were the only persons whose opposition was thought of any weight; they were, therefore, sent to the Tower, and threatened with the king's farther displeasure in case of disobedience.

But it had been well for the credit of the reformers had they stopt at imprisonment only. They also resolved to become persecutors in turn; and although the very spirit of their doctrines arose from a freedom of thinking, yet they could not bear that any should controvert what they had been at so much pains to establish. A commission was granted to the primate and some others to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the number of those who were supposed to incur guilt upon this occasion, was one Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent; who was so extremely

tremely obſtinate, that the commiſſioners could gain nothing upon her. She had maintained an abſtruſe metaphyſical ſentiment, that Chriſt, as man, was a ſinful man; but as the Word, he was free from ſin, and could be ſubject to none of the frailties of the fleſh with which he was cloathed. For maintaining this doctrine, which none of them could underſtand, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burnt to death as a heretic. The young king, who, it ſeems, had more ſenſe than his miniſters, refuſed at firſt to ſign the death-warrant; but being at laſt preſſed by Cranmer, and vanquiſhed by his importunities, he reluctantly complied; declaring, that if he did wrong, the ſin ſhould be on the head of thoſe who had perſuaded him to it. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her opinions, and finding her obſtinate againſt all his arguments, at laſt committed her to the flames. Some time after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accuſed of a hereſy called Arianiſm, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment. He ſuffered with ſo much ſatisfaction, that he hugged and careſſed the faggots that were conſuming him; and died exulting in his ſituation.

Although theſe meaſures were intended for the benefit of the nation, and in the end turned out entirely to the advantage of ſociety, yet they were at that time attended with many inconveniencies, to which all changes whatſoever are liable. When the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their ſubſiſtence by their labour; ſo that all kinds of buſineſs were overſtocked. The lands of the monaſteries alſo had been formerly farmed out

to the common people, ſo as to employ a great number of hands; and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now theſe lands being poſſeſſed by the nobility, the rents were raiſed; and the farmers, perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into paſture. In conſequence of this practice, the price of meal aroſe, to the unſpeakable hardſhip of the lower claſs of people. Beſide, as few hands were required to manage a paſture farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of ſubſiſtence, while the nation was filled with murmurs and complaints againſt the nobility, who were conſidered as the ſources of the general calamity. To add to theſe complaints, the rich proprietors of lands proceeded to incloſe their eſtates; while the tenants, regarded as an uſeleſs burthen, were expelled their habitations. Even cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery; and a great decay of people, as well as a diminution of proviſions, was obſerved in every part of the kingdom. To add to this picture of general calamity, all the good coin of the kingdom was hoarded up or exported abroad; while a baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; and this the poor were obliged to receive in payment, but could not diſburſe at an equal advantage. Thus an univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took place; and nothing but loud complaints were heard in every quarter.

The protector, who knew that his own power was to be founded on the depreſſion of the nobility,

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eſpouſed the cauſe of the ſufferers. He appointed commiſſioners to examine whether the poſſeſſors of the church-lands had fulfilled the conditions on which thoſe lands had been ſold by the crown; and ordered all late incloſures to be laid open on an appointed day. As the object of this commiſſion was very diſagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called it arbitrary and illegal, while the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redreſs, roſe in great numbers, and ſought a remedy by force of arms. The riſing began at once in ſeveral parts of England, as if an univerſal conſpiracy had been formed among the people. The rebels in Wiltſhire were diſperſed by ſir William Herbert; thoſe of Oxford and Glouceſter, by lord Gray of Wilton; the commotions in Hampſhire, Suſſex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentle methods; but the diſorders in Devonſhire and Norfolk were the moſt obſtinate, and threatened the greateſt danger. In the firſt of theſe counties, the inſurgents, amounting to ten thouſand men, were headed by one Humphry Arundel, an experienced ſoldier; and they were ſtill more encouraged by ſermons, which gave their revolt the air of a religious confederacy. They accordingly ſent a ſet of articles to court, which, in general, demanded an abolition of the ſtatutes lately made in favour of the reformation; but the miniſtry rejected their demands with contempt, at the ſame time offering a pardon to all that would lay down their arms and return to their habitations. But the inſurgents were now too far advanced to recede; and ſtill encouraged by the monks, who were with them, they laid ſiege to Exeter, carrying before them croſſes,

banners, holy-water, candleſticks, and other implements of their ancient ſuperſtition; but the town was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. In the mean time, lord Ruſſel had been ſent againſt them with a ſmall body of forces; and being reinforced by lord Grey and others, he attacked, and drove them from all their entrenchments. Great ſlaughter was committed upon theſe deluded creatures, both in the action and the purſuit. Arundel, their leader, and ſeveral others, were ſent to London, where they were condemned and executed. Many of the inferior ſort were put to death by martial law. The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own ſteeple, arrayed in his popiſh habits, with his beads at his girdle.

The ſedition in Norfolk appeared ſtill more alarming. The inſurgents there amounted to twenty thouſand men; and as their forces were numerous, their demands were exorbitant. They required the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, the placing new counſellors about the king, and the eſtabliſhment of their ancient rights. One Ket, a tanner, had aſſumed a priority among them; he erected his tribunal near Norwich, under an old oak, which was termed the Oak of Reformation. He afterwards undertook the ſiege of Norwich, which having reduced, he impriſoned the mayor, and ſome of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was firſt ſent down againſt them, but met with a repulſe; the earl of Warwick followed ſoon after, at the head of ſix thouſand men, and, coming to a general engagement, put them entirely to the rout. Two thouſand of them fell in the fight and purſuit;

ſuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich caſtle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the inſurrection, which was the laſt in favour of popery, was thus entirely ſuppreſſed.

But though the ſuppreſſion of theſe inſurrections ſeemed to be very favourable to the intereſts of the protector, yet the authority which the earl of Warwick gained in quelling that of Norfolk, terminated in Somerſet's ruin. Of all the miniſters at that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the moſt artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Reſolved at any rate to poſſeſs the principal place under the king, he cared not what means were to be uſed in acquiring it. However, unwilling to throw off the maſk, he covered the moſt exorbitant views under the faireſt appearances. Having aſſociated himſelf with the earl of Southampton, he formed a ſtrong party in the council, who were determined to free themſelves from the controul the protector aſſumed over them. That nobleman was, in fact, now grown obnoxious to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his ſuperior magnificence and power; he was hated by the catholic party for his regard to the reformation; he was diſliked by many for his ſeverity to his brother; beſides, the great eſtate he had raiſed at the expenſe of the church and the crown, rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was then building in the Strand, ſerved alſo by its magnificence, and ſtill more by the unjuſt methods that were taken to raiſe it, to expoſe him to the cenſures of the public. The pariſh church of St. Mary, with three biſhops' houſes, were pulled down, to

furniſh ground and materials for the ſtructure. Several other churches were demoliſhed, to have their ſtones employed to the ſame purpoſe; and it was not without an inſurrection, that the pariſhioners of St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, prevented their church from being pulled down to make room for the new fabric.

Theſe imprudences were ſoon exaggerated and enlarged upon by Somerſet's enemies. They repreſented him as a parricide, a ſacrilegious tyrant, and an unjuſt uſurper upon the privileges of the council and the rights of the king. In conſequence of this, the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five counſellors more, met at Ely-houſe; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independent of the protector, whom they pretended to conſider as the author of every public
Octob 6, 1549. grievance. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, informing them of the preſent meaſures, and requiring their aſſiſtance. They ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to concur in their meaſures, which they repreſented as the only means of ſaving the nation. The next day ſeveral others of the council joined the ſeceding members; and the protector now began to tremble, not for his authority, but his life.

He had no ſooner been informed of theſe tranſactions than he ſent the king to Windſor, and armed the inhabitants of Hampton and Windſor alſo for his ſecurity. But finding that no [illegible]n of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, and that the people did not riſe

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at his ſummons; perceiving that he was in a manner deſerted by all, and that all reſiſtance was fruitleſs, he reſolved to apply to his enemies for pardon. This gave freſh ſtrength and confidence to the party of Warwick; they aſſured the king, with the humbleſt profeſſions of obedience, that their only aim was to put the council on the ſame footing on which it had been ordained by the will of their late ſovereign, and to reſcue his authority from the hands of a man who had aſſumed all power to himſelf. The king, who never much cared for Somerſet, gave their addreſs a favourable reception; and the protector was ſent to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and partiſans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards earl of Saliſbury. Mean while the council ordered ſix lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then, for the firſt time, that the earl of Warwick's ambition began to appear in full ſplendour; he ſet himſelf forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin; and the other members, without the leaſt oppoſition, permitted him to aſſume the reins of government.

It was now ſuppoſed that Somerſet's fate was fixed, as his enemies were numerous, and the charges againſt him of the moſt heinous nature. The chief article of which he was accuſed, was his uſurpation of the government, and the taking all power into his own hands; ſeveral others of a lighter tint were added to invigorate this accuſation; but none of them could be ſaid to amount to the crime of high-treaſon. In conſequence of theſe, a bill of attainder was preferred againſt him in the houſe of lords; but Somerſet

contrived, for this time, to elude the rigour of their ſentence, by having previouſly, on his knees, confeſſed the charge before the members of the council. This confeſſion, which he ſigned with his own hand, was alleged and read againſt him at the bar of the houſe, who once more ſent a deputation to him, to know whether the confeſſion was voluntary or extorted. Somerſet thanked them for their candour; owned that it was his voluntary act, but ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that he had never harboured a ſiniſter thought againſt the king or the commonwealth. In conſequence of this confeſſion, he was deprived of all his offices and goods, together with a great part of his landed eſtate, which was forfeited to the uſe of the crown. This fine on his eſtate was ſoon after remitted by the king; and Somerſet once more, contrary to the expectation of all, recovered his liberty. He was even re-admitted into the council: happy for him, if his ambition had not revived with his ſecurity!

The catholics were extremely elevated at the protector's fall; and they began to entertain hopes of a revolution in their favour. But they were miſtaken in their opinion of Warwick, who now took the lead, as ambition was the only principle in his breaſt; and to that he was reſolved to ſacrifice all others. He ſoon gave inſtances of his diſregard in religious points, by his permitting Gardiner to undergo the penalties preſcribed againſt diſobedience. Many of the prelates, and he among the reſt, though they made ſome compliance, were ſtill addicted to their ancient communion. A reſolution was therefore taken to deprive them of their ſees; and it was thought proper to begin with him,

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in order to ſtrike a terror into the reſt. He had been now for two years in priſon, for having refuſed to inculcate the duty of obedience to the king during his minority; and the council took this opportunity to ſend him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe, among which was one, acknowledging the juſtice of the order for his confinement. He was likewiſe to own, that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing holidays was a part of the prerogative; and that the Common Prayer Book was a godly and commendable form. Gardiner was willing to put his hand to all the articles, except that by which he accuſed himſelf, which he refuſed to do, juſtly perceiving that their aim was either to ruin or diſhonour him. For this offence he was deprived of his biſhoprick, committed to cloſe cuſtody; his books and papers were ſeiſed; all company was denied him; and he was not even permitted the uſe of pen and ink. This ſeverity, in ſome meaſure, countenanced thoſe which this prelate had afterwards an opportunity of retaliating when he came into power.

But the reformers did not ſtop here; the rapacious courtiers, never to be ſatisfied, and giving their violence an air of zeal, deprived, in the ſame manner, Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, Heathe of Worceſter, and Voiſy of Exeter. The biſhops of Landaff, Saliſbury, and Coventry came off ſomething more advantageouſly, by ſacrificing the moſt conſiderable ſhare of their eccleſiaſtical revenues. Not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries alſo, underwent a dreadful ſcrutiny. The libraries of Weſtminſter and Oxford were ordered to be ranſacked, and purged of the Romiſh miſſals, legends, and other ſuperſtitious

ſtitious volumes; in which ſearch great devaſtation was made even in uſeful literature. Many volumes claſped in ſilver were deſtroyed for the ſake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and aſtronomy were ſuppoſed to be magical, and met no mercy. The univerſity, unable to ſtop the fury of thoſe barbarians, ſilently looked on, and trembled for its own ſecurity.

Warwick was willing to indulge the nobility with theſe humiliations of the church; and perceiving that the king was extremely attached to the reformation, he ſuppoſed that he could not make his court to the young monarch better than by a ſeeming zeal in the cauſe. But he was ſtill ſtedfaſtly bent on enlarging his own power; and as the laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue or heirs, Warwick procured for himſelf a grant of his ample poſſeſſions, and obtained the title alſo of duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerſet was now the only perſon he wiſhed to have entirely removed; for though fallen as he was by his late ſpiritleſs conduct, yet he ſtill preſerved a ſhare of popularity that rendered him formidable to this aſpirer. Indeed Somerſet was not always upon his guard againſt the arts of Northumberland, but could not help now and then burſting out into invectives, which were quickly carried to his ſecret enemy. As he was ſurrounded by Northumberland's creatures, they took care to reveal all the deſigns which they had themſelves firſt ſuggeſted; and Somerſet ſoon found the fatal effects of his rival's reſentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arreſted, with many more accuſed of being his partiſans; and he was, with his wife the ducheſs, alſo thrown into priſon. He was now

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accuſed of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the North; of attacking the train-bands on a muſter-day; of plotting to ſecure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. Theſe charges he ſtrenuouſly denied; but he confeſſed to one of as heinous a nature, which was, that he had laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet, which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was ſoon after brought to a trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, who ſat as high ſteward on the occaſion, with twenty-ſeven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges and accuſers. He was accuſed of an intention to ſecure the perſon of the king, and re-aſſume the adminiſtration of affairs, to aſſaſſinate the duke of Northumberland, and raiſe an inſurrection in the city. He pleaded not guilty to the firſt part of the charge, and of this he was accordingly acquitted; but he was found guilty of conſpiring the death of a privy-counſellor, which crime had been made felony in the reign of Henry the Seventh; and for this he was condemned to death. The populace ſeeing him re-conveyed to the Tower without the ax, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been entirely acquitted; and in repeated ſhouts and acclamations manifeſted their joy; but this was ſuddenly damped, when they were better informed of his doom. Care in the mean time had been taken to prepoſſeſs the young king againſt his uncle; and, leſt he ſhould relent, no acceſs was given to any of Somerſet's friends, while the prince was kept from reflection by a ſeries of occupations and amuſe-

amuſements. At laſt the priſoner was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-Hill, where he appeared, without the leaſt emotion, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He ſpoke to them with great compoſure, proteſting that he had always promoted the ſervice of his king, and the intereſts of true religion, to the beſt of his power. The people atteſted their belief to what he ſaid, by crying out, "It is moſt true." An univerſal tumult was beginning to take place; but Somerſet deſiring them to be ſtill, and not to interrupt his laſt meditations, but to join with him in prayer, he laid down his head, and ſubmitted to the ſtroke of the executioner. Sir Ralph Vane and ſir Miles Partridge were hanged, and ſir Michael Stanhope, with ſir Thomas Arundel, were beheaded, as being his accomplices.

Nothing could have been more unpopular than the meaſure of deſtroying Somerſet, who, though many actions of his life were very exceptionable, yet ſtill conſulted the good of the people. The houſe of commons was particularly attached to him; and of this Northumberland was very ſenſible. He therefore reſolved to diſſolve the parliament, and call another that would be more obſequious to his will. For this purpoſe he engaged the king to write circular letters to all the ſheriffs, in which he enjoined them to chuſe ſuch men as he and the privy-council ſhould recommend. With this deſpotic mandate the ſheriffs immediately complied; and the members returned fully anſwered Northumberland's expectations. He had long aimed at the firſt authority; and the infirm ſtate of the king's health opened the proſpects of his ambition. He re-

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preſented to that young prince that his ſiſters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to ſucceed on the failure of direct heirs to the crown, had been both declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots, his aunt, ſtood excluded by the king's will, and being an alien alſo, loſt all right of ſucceeding; that as the three princeſſes were thus legally excluded, the ſucceſſion naturally devolved to the marchioneſs of Dorſet, whoſe next heir was the lady Jane Grey, a lady every way accompliſhed for government, as well by the charms of her perſon as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king, who had long ſubmitted to all the politic views of this deſigning miniſter, agreed to have the ſucceſſion ſubmitted to council, where Northumberland hoped to procure an eaſy concurrence.

In the mean time, as the king's health declined, the miniſter laboured to ſtrengthen his own intereſts and connexions. His firſt aim was to ſecure the intereſts of the marquis of Dorſet, father to lady Jane Grey, by procuring for him the title of duke of Suffolk, which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman, he then propoſed a match between his fourth ſon, lord Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane Grey, whoſe intereſts he had been at ſo much pains to advance. Still bent on ſpreading his intereſts as widely as poſſible, he mar- A D. 1553.
ried his own daughter to lord Haſtings, and had theſe marriages ſolemniſed with all poſſible pomp and feſtivity. Mean while, Edward continued to languiſh; and ſeveral fatal ſymptoms of a conſumption began to appear. It was hoped, however, that his youth and temperance might get

get the better of his diſorders; and from their love the people were unwilling to think him in danger. It had been remarked indeed by ſome, that his health was viſibly ſeen to decline, from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his perſon. The character of Northumberland might have juſtly given ſome colour to ſuſpicion; and his removing all, except his own emiſſaries, from about the king, ſtill farther increaſed the diſguſts of the people. Northumberland was no way uneaſy at their murmurs; he was aſſiduous in his attendance upon the king, and profeſſed the moſt anxious concern for his ſafety, but ſtill drove forward his darling ſcheme of transferring the ſucceſſion to his own daughter-in-law. The judges who were appointed to draw up the king's letters-patent for that purpoſe, warmly objected to the meaſure; and gave their reaſons before the council. They begged that a parliament might be ſummoned, both to give it force, and to free its partiſans from danger; they ſaid, that the form was invalid, and would not only ſubject the judges who drew it, but every counſellor who ſigned it, to the pains of treaſon. Northumberland could not brook their demurs; he threatened them with the dread of his authority; he called one of them a traitor, and ſaid that he would fight in his ſhirt with any man in ſo juſt a cauſe as that of the lady Jane's ſucceſſion. A method was therefore found out of ſcreening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they ſhould draw up; and at length, after much deliberation, and ſome refuſals, the patent for changing the ſucceſſion was completed. Thus, by this patent, Mary and Elizabeth were ſet aſide; and the crown was

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ſettled on the heirs of the ducheſs of Suffolk, for the ducheſs herſelf was contented to forego her claim.

Northumberland having thus far ſucceeded, thought phyſicians were no longer ſerviceable in the king's complaint; they were diſmiſſed by his advice; and Edward was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very confidently undertook his cure. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms increaſed to a moſt violent degree; he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid, and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired July 6. at Greenwich, in the ſixteenth year of his age, 1553. and the ſeventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all, as his early virtues gave a proſpect of the continuance of a happy reign. What were the real qualities of this young prince's heart, there was not time to diſcover; but the cultivation of his underſtanding, if we may credit hiſtorians, was amazing. He was ſaid to underſtand the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages. He was verſed in logic, muſic, natural philoſophy, and theology. Cardan, the extraordinary ſcholar and phyſician, happening to pay a viſit to the Engliſh court, was ſo aſtoniſhed at his early progreſs, that he extols him as a prodigy of nature. It is probable, however, that ſo much flattery as he received would have contributed to corrupt him, as it had formerly corrupted his father.

CHAP.



CHAP. XXV.

MARY.

THE death of Edward only ſerved to prepare freſh troubles for a people that had hitherto greatly ſuffered from the depravity of their kings, or the turbulence of their nobility. The ſucceſſion to the throne had hitherto been obtained partly by lineal deſcent, and partly by the aptitude for government in the perſon choſen. Neither quite hereditary, nor quite elective, it had made anceſtry the pretext of right, while the conſent of the people was neceſſary to ſupport all hereditary pretenſions. In fact, when wiſely conducted, this is the beſt ſpecies of ſucceſſion

that can be conceived, as it prevents that ariſtocracy which is ever the reſult of a government entirely elective, and that tyranny which is too often eſtabliſhed where there is never an infringement on hereditary claims.

Whenever a monarch of England happened to be arbitrary, and to enlarge the prerogative, he generally conſidered the kingdom as his property, and not himſelf as a ſervant of the people. In ſuch caſes it was natural for him at his deceaſe to bequeath his dominions as he thought proper, making his own will the ſtandard of his ſubjects' happineſs. Henry the Eighth, in conformity to this practice, made his will, in which he ſettled the ſucceſſion merely according to his caprice. In that, Edward his ſon was the firſt nominated to ſucceed him; then Mary, his eldeſt daughter, by Catharine of Spain; but with a ſpecial mark of condeſcenſion, by which he would intimate her illegitimacy. The next that followed was Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, with the ſame marks, intimating her illegitimacy alſo. After his own children, his ſiſters' children were mentioned; his younger ſiſter the ducheſs of Suffolk's iſſue were preferred before thoſe of their elder ſiſter the queen of Scotland; which preference was thought by all to be neither founded in juſtice, nor ſupported by reaſon. This will was now, however, ſet aſide by the intrigues of Northumberland, by whoſe advice a will was made, as we have ſeen, in favour of lady Jane Grey, the ducheſs of Suffolk's daughter, in prejudice of all other claimants. Thus, after the death of this young monarch, there were no fewer than four princeſſes who could aſ-

ſert their pretenſions to the crown: Mary, who was the firſt upon Henry's will, but who had been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, which was never repealed: Elizabeth was next to ſucceed; and though ſhe had been declared illegitimate, yet ſhe had been reſtored to her rights during her father's life-time. The queen of Scotland, Henry's eldeſt ſiſter, was firſt in right, ſuppoſing the two daughters illegitimate, while lady Jane Grey might allege the will of the late king in her own favour.

Of theſe, however, only two put in their pretenſions to the crown; Mary, relying on the juſtice of her cauſe, and lady Jane, upon the ſupport of the duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law. Mary was ſtrongly bigotted to the popiſh ſuperſtitions, having been bred up among church-men, and having been even taught to prefer martyrdom to a denial of belief. As ſhe had lived in continual reſtraint, ſhe was reſerved and gloomy; ſhe had, even during the life of her father, the reſolution to maintain her ſentiments, and refuſed to comply with his new inſtitutions. Her zeal had rendered her furious; and ſhe was not only blindly attached to her religious opinions, but even to the popiſh clergy who maintained them. On the other hand, Jane Grey was ſtrongly attached to the reformers; and, though yet but ſixteen, her judgment had attained to ſuch a degree of maturity as few have been found to poſſeſs. All hiſtorians agree that the ſolidity of her underſtanding, improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of her age. Aſcham, tutor to Elizabeth, informs us, that coming once to wait upon lady Jane at her father's houſe in Leiceſterſhire,

ſhire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the reſt of the family were hunting in the park. Upon his teſtifying his ſurpriſe at her ſituation, ſhe aſſured him that Plato was a higher amuſement to her than the moſt ſtudied refinements of ſenſual pleaſure; and ſhe in fact ſeemed born for philoſophy, and not for ambition.

Such were the preſent rivals for power; but lady Jane had the ſtart of her antagoniſt. Northumberland now reſolving to ſecure the ſucceſſion, carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of ſecuring the perſon of Mary, who, by an order of council, had been required to attend her brother during his illneſs; but being informed of his death, ſhe immediately prepared to aſſert her pretenſions to the crown. This crafty miniſter, therefore, finding that farther diſſimulation was needleſs, went to Sion-houſe, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to ſalute lady Jane Grey, who reſided there. Jane was in a great meaſure ignorant of all theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurpriſe that ſhe received intelligence of them. She ſhed a flood of tears, appeared inconſolable, and it was not without the utmoſt difficulty that ſhe yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland, and the duke her father. At length, however, they exhorted her to conſent, and next day conveyed her to the Tower, where it was then uſual for the kings of England to paſs ſome days after their acceſſion. Thither alſo all the members of the council were obliged to attend her; and thus were in ſome meaſure made priſoners by Northumberland, whoſe will they were under a neceſſity

of obeying. Orders were given alſo for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but theſe were very remiſsly obeyed. When ſhe was proclaimed in the city, the people heard her acceſſion made public without any ſigns of pleaſure: no applauſe enſued, and ſome even expreſſed their ſcorn and contempt.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired, upon the news of the king's death, to Kenning-Hall in Norfolk, ſent circular letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay. Having taken theſe ſteps, ſhe retired to Framlingham-Caſtle in Suffolk, that ſhe might be near the ſea, and eſcape to Flanders in caſe of failure. But ſhe ſoon found her affairs wear the moſt promiſing aſpect. The men of Suffolk came to pay her their homage; and being aſſured by her, that ſhe would defend the laws and the religion of her predeceſſor, they enliſted themſelves in her cauſe with alacrity and affection. The people of Norfolk ſoon after came in; the earls of Bath and Suſſex, the eldeſt ſons of lord Wharton, and lord Mordaunt joined her; and lord Haſtings, with four thouſand men, who had been raiſed to oppoſe her, revolted to her ſide. Even a fleet that had been ſent to lie off the coaſt of Suffolk to prevent her eſcaping, engaged in her ſervice; and now, but too late, Northumberland ſaw the deplorable end of all his ſchemes and ambition.

This miniſter, with the conſent of the council, had aſſembled ſome troops at Newmarket, had ſet on foot new levies in London, and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, that he might

might himſelf continue with, and over-awe the deliberations of, the council. But he was turned from this manner of managing his affairs, by conſidering how unfit Suffolk was to head the army; ſo that he was obliged himſelf to take upon him the military command. It was now, therefore, that the council, being free from his influence, and no longer dreading his immediate authority, began to declare againſt him. Arundel led the oppoſition, by repreſenting the injuſtice and cruelty of Northumberland, and the exorbitancy of his ambition. Pembroke ſeconded him with declarations that he was ready to fight all of a contrary opinion; the mayor and aldermen, who were ſent for, readily came into the ſame meaſures; the people expreſſed their approbation by ſhouts and applauſes; and even Suffolk himſelf, finding all reſiſtance fruitleſs, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined in the general cry. Mary's claims now became irreſiſtible; in a little time ſhe found herſelf at the head of forty thouſand men; while the few who attended Northumberland continued irreſolute; and he even feared to lead them to the encounter.

Lady Jane, thus finding that all was loſt, reſigned her royalty, which ſhe had held but ten days, with marks of real ſatisfaction, and retired with her mother to their own habitation. Northumberland alſo, who found his affairs deſperate, and that it was impoſſible to ſtem the tide of popular oppoſition, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of penſioner guards, who informed him that he muſt ſtay to juſtify their conduct in being led out againſt their lawful ſovereign. Thus circumvent-

ed on all ſides, his cunning was now his only reſource; and he began by endeavouring to recommend himſelf to Mary by the moſt extravagant proteſtations of zeal in her ſervice. He repaired to the market-place in Cambridge, proclaimed her queen of England, and was the firſt to throw up his cap in token of joy. But he reaped no advantage from this mean duplicity; he was the next day arreſted in the queen's name by the earl of Arundel, at whoſe feet he fell upon his knees, begging protection with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. His three ſons, his brother, and ſome more of his followers, were arreſted with him, and committed to the Tower of London. Soon after, the lady Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk her father, and lord Guildford Dudley her huſband, were made priſoners by order of the queen, whoſe authority was now confirmed by univerſal aſſent.

Northumberland was the firſt who ſuffered for oppoſing her, and was the perſon who deſerved the puniſhment the moſt. When brought to his trial, he openly deſired permiſſion to aſk two queſtions of the peers, who were appointed to ſit on his jury: "Whether a man could be guilty of treaſon, who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great-ſeal; and, whether thoſe involved in the ſame guilt with himſelf could act as his judges?" Being told that the great-ſeal of an uſurper was no authority; and that his judges were proper, as they were unimpeached; he acquieſced, and pleady guilty. At his execution, he owned himſelf a papiſt, and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith, as they hoped for happineſs and tranquillity. Sir John Gates and ſir Thomas Palmer,

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the infamous tools of his power, ſuffered with him; and the queen's reſentment was appeaſed by the lives of three men, who had forfeited them by ſeveral former crimes. Sentence was pronounced againſt lady Jane and lord Guildford, but without any intention for the preſent of putting it in execution: the youth and innocence of the perſons, neither of whom had reached their ſeventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

Mary now entered London, and, with very little effuſion of blood, ſaw herſelf joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably ſettled on the throne. This was the criſis of Engliſh happineſs: a queen whoſe right was the moſt equitable, in ſome meaſure elected by the people, the ariſtocracy of the laſt reign almoſt wholly ſuppreſſed, the houſe of commons by this means reinſtated in its ancient authority, the pride of the clergy humbled, and their vices detected, peace abroad and unanimity at home: this was the flattering proſpect on Mary's acceſſion; but ſoon this pleaſing phantom was diſſolved. Mary was moroſe, and a bigot; ſhe was reſolved to give back their former power to the clergy, and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had juſt emerged from. The queen had promiſed the men of Suffolk, who firſt came to declare in her favour, that ſhe would ſuffer religion to remain in the ſituation in which ſhe found it. This promiſe, however, ſhe by no means intended to perform; ſhe had determined on bringing the ſentiments of the people to correſpond with her own; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubting her own belief, or of granting indulgence to the doubts of

others. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, and Veſey, who had been confined, or ſuffered loſſes for their catholic opinions, during the late reigns, were taken from priſon, re-inſtated in their ſees, and their former ſentences repealed. On pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, ſhe ſilenced, by her prerogative, all preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licence, which ſhe was previouſly determined to grant only to thoſe of her own perſuaſion. Men now foreſaw that the reformation was to be overturned; and though the queen ſtill pretended that ſhe would grant a general toleration, yet no great favour could be expected by thoſe who were hateful to her from inveterate prejudices.

The firſt ſtep that cauſed an alarm among the proteſtants was the ſevere treatment of Cranmer, whoſe moderation, integrity, and virtues had made him dear, even to moſt of the catholic party. A report being ſpread, that this prelate, in order to make his court to the queen, had promiſed to officiate in the Latin ſervice, he drew up a declaration, in which he entirely cleared himſelf of the aſperſion, but incurred what was much more terrible, the queen's reſentment. On the publication of this paper, Cranmer was thrown into priſon, and tried for the part he had acted, in concurring, among the reſt of the council, to exalt lady Jane, and ſet aſide the rightful ſovereign. This guilt he had in fact incurred; but as it was ſhared with a large body of men, moſt of whom were not only uncenſured, but even taken into favour, the malignancy of the proſecution was eaſily ſeen through. Sentence of high-treaſon was, therefore, pronounced

nounced againſt him; but it was not then executed, as this venerable man was reſerved for a more dreadful puniſhment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, a German reformer who had in the late reign been invited over to England, ſeeing how things were likely to go, deſired leave to return to his native country. But the zeal of the catholics, though he had eſcaped them, was malignantly, though harmleſsly, wreaked upon the body of his wife, which had been interred ſome years before at Oxford: it was dug up by public order, and buried in a dunghill. The bones also of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the ſame time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign proteſtants took early precautions to leave the kingdom; and many of the arts and manufactures, which they ſucceſsfully advanced, fled with them. Nor were their fears without foundation; a parliament, which the queen called ſoon after, ſeemed willing to concur in all her meaſures; they at one blow repealed all the ſtatutes with regard to religion, which had paſſed during the reign of her predeceſſor; ſo that the national religion was again placed on the ſame footing on which it ſtood at the death of Henry the Eighth. A. D. 1553.

While religion was thus returning to its primitive abuſes, the queen's miniſters, who were willing to ſtrengthen her power by a catholic alliance, had been for ſome time looking out for a proper conſort. The perſon on whom her own affections ſeemed chiefly placed was the earl of Devonſhire; but that nobleman either diſliking her perſon, or having already placed his affections on her ſiſter Elizabeth, neglected all overtures to ſuch

ſuch an alliance. Cardinal Pole, who, though inveſted with that eccleſiaſtical dignity, was ſtill a layman, and a perſon of high character for virtue, generoſity, and attachment to the catholic religion, was next thought of. But as he was in the decline of life, the queen ſoon dropped all thoughts of him. The perſon laſt thought of, and who ſucceeded, was Philip prince of Spain, and ſon of the celebrated Charles the Fifth. In order to avoid any diſagreeable remonſtrances from the people, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as poſſible to the intereſts and honour of England; and this, in ſome meaſure, ſtilled the clamours that had already been begun againſt it. It was agreed, that, though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that her iſſue ſhould inherit, together with England, Burgundy and the Low-Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by a former marriage, ſhould die, the queen's iſſue ſhould then enjoy all the dominions poſſeſſed by the king. Such was the treaty of marriage, from which politicians foreſaw very great changes in the ſyſtem of Europe; but which in the end came to nothing, by the queen's having no iſſue.

The people, however, who did not ſee ſo far, were much more juſt in their ſurmiſes, who ſaw that it might be a blow to their liberties and religion. They loudly murmured againſt it, and a flame of diſcontent was kindled over the whole nation. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman Catholic, at the head of four thouſand inſurgents, march-

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ed from Kent to Hyde-Park, publiſhing, as he went forward, a declaration againſt the queen's evil counſellors, and againſt the Spaniſh match. His firſt aim was to ſecure the Tower; but his raſhneſs undid him. As he marched forward A. D. 1554. through the city of London, and among the narrow ſtreets, without ſuſpicion, care was taken by the earl of Pembroke, to block up the way behind him by ditches and chains thrown acroſs, and guards placed at all the avenues to prevent his return. In this manner did this bold demagogue paſs onward, and ſuppoſed himſelf now ready to reap the fruits of his undertaking, when, to his utter confuſion, he found that he could neither go forward, nor yet make good his retreat. He now perceived that the citizens, from whom he had expected aſſiſtance, would not join him; and loſing all courage in this exigency, he ſurrendered at diſcretion.

The duke of Suffolk was not leſs guilty alſo; he had joined in a confederacy with ſir Peter Carew, to make an inſurrection in the counties of Kent, Warwick, and Leiceſter; but his confederate's impatience engaging him to riſe in arms before the day appointed, Suffolk vainly endeavoured to excite his dependents; but was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers; and, being diſcovered in his retreat, was led priſoner to London, where he, together with Wyatt, and ſeventy perſons more, ſuffered by the hand of the executioner. Four hundred were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received pardon, and were diſmiſſed.

But

But what excited the compaſſion of the people moſt of all, was the execution of lady Jane Grey, and her huſband lord Guilford Dudley, who were involved in the puniſhment, though not in the guilt, of this inſurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her huſband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane, who had long before ſeen the threatened blow, was no way ſurpriſed at the meſſage, but bore it with heroic reſolution; and being informed that ſhe had three days to prepare, ſhe ſeemed diſpleaſed at ſo long a delay. On the day of her execution, her huſband deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but this ſhe refuſed, as ſhe knew the parting would be too tender for her fortitude to withſtand. The place at firſt deſigned for their execution was without the Tower; but their youth, beauty, and innocence, being likely to raiſe an inſurrection among the people, orders were given that they ſhould be executed within the verge of the Tower. Lord Dudley was the firſt that ſuffered; and while the lady Jane was conducting to the place of execution, the officers of the Tower met her, bearing along the headleſs body of her huſband ſtreaming with blood, in order to be interred in the Tower-chapel. She looked on the corpſe for ſome time without any emotion; and then, with a ſigh, deſired them to proceed. John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, as he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, where ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in Engliſh, importing that ſhe hoped God and poſterity would

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do him and their cauſe juſtice. On the ſcaffold ſhe made a ſpeech, in which ſhe alleged that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy; that ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than filial obedience; that ſhe willingly accepted death as the only atonement ſhe could make to the injured ſtate; and was ready by her puniſhment to ſhow that innocence is no plea in excuſe for deeds that tend to injure the community. After ſpeaking to this effect, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women, and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted to the executioner.

The enemies of the ſtate being thus ſuppreſſed, the theatre was now opened for the pretended enemies of religion. The queen being freed from apprehenſions of an inſurrection, began by aſſembling a parliament, which, upon this as upon moſt occaſions, ſeemed only met to give countenance to her various ſeverities. The nobles, whoſe only religion was that of the prince who governed, were eaſily gained over; and the houſe of commons had long been paſſive under all the variations of regal caprice. But there was a new enemy ſtarted up againſt the reformers in the perſon of the king, who, though he took all poſſible care to conceal his averſion, yet ſecretly influenced the queen, and inflamed all her proceedings. Philip had for ſome time been come over; and had uſed every endeavour to increaſe that ſhare of power which he had been allowed by parliament, but without effect. The queen, indeed, who loved him with a fooliſh fondneſs that ſat but ill on a perſon of her years and diſagreeable perſon, endeavoured to pleaſe him

him by every conceſſion ſhe could make or procure: and finding herſelf incapable of ſatisfying his ambition, ſhe was not remiſs in concurring with his zeal; ſo that heretics began to be perA. D. 1554. ſecuted with inquiſitorial ſeverity. The old ſanguinary laws were now revived, which had been rejected by a former parliament. Orders were given that the biſhops and prieſts who had married, ſhould be ejected; that the maſs ſhould be reſtored; that the pope's authority ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that the church and its privileges, all but their goods and eſtates, ſhould be put upon the ſame foundation on which they were before the commencement of the reformation. As the gentry and nobles had already divided the church-lands among them, it was thought inconvenient, and indeed impoſſible, to make a reſtoration of theſe.

At the head of thoſe who drove ſuch meaſures forward, were Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and cardinal Pole, who was now returned from Italy. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conſcientiouſly adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's diſpleaſure, not only by refuſing his aſſent to his meaſures, but by writing againſt him. It was for this adherence that he was cheriſhed by the pope, and now ſent over to England as legate from the holy ſee. Gardiner was a man of a very different character; his chief aim was to pleaſe the reigning prince, and he had ſhown already many inſtances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous meaſures; and he knew that it would be the beſt means of paying his court to them, even to out-go them in

ſeverity. Pole, who had never varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration; Gardiner, who had often changed, was for puniſhing thoſe changes in others with the utmoſt rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a perſecution in perſon; he therefore conſigned that odious office to Bonner, biſhop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant man.

This bloody ſcene began by the martyrdom of Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commiſſioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected that by their recantation they would bring thoſe opinions into diſrepute which they had ſo long inculcated; but the perſecutors were deceived; they both continued ſtedfaſt in their belief; and they were accordingly condemned to be burnt, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper in his own dioceſe at Glouceſter. Rogers, beſide the care of his own preſervation, lay under very powerful temptations to deny his principles and ſave his life; for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could move his reſolution. Such was his ſerenity after condemnation, that the jailors, we are told, waked him from a ſound ſleep upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execution. He deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him that being a prieſt he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he ſeemed no way daunted at the preparation; but cried out, "I reſign my life with joy in "teſtimony of the doctrine of Jeſus." When Hooper was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before

fore him with the queen's pardon upon it, in caſe he ſhould recant; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared chearfully to ſuffer his ſentence, which was executed in its full ſeverity. The fire, either from malice or neglect, had not been ſufficiently kindled; ſo that his legs and thighs were firſt burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breaſt. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy.

Saunders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whoſe zeal had been diſtinguiſhed in carrying on the reformation, were the next that ſuffered. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel; and before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it ſtream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, ſinging the thirty-firſt Pſalm in Engliſh; which one of the ſpectators obſerving, ſtruck him a blow on the ſide of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes ſilent, and with his eyes ſtedfaſtly fixed upward, when one of the guards, either through impatience or compaſſion, ſtruck him down with his halberd, and thus happily put an end to his torments.

The death of theſe only ſerved to increaſe the ſavage appetite of the popiſh biſhops and monks, for freſh ſlaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and luxury, let looſe his vengeance without reſtraint, and ſeemed to take a pleaſure in the pains of the unhappy ſufferers; while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to purſue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, biſhop of London, and the venerable Lati-

mer,

mer, biſhop of Worceſter, were condemned together. Ridley had been one of the ableſt champions for the reformation; his piety, learning, and ſolidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to ſee him; and when he beheld them melted into tears, he himſelf appeared quite unmoved, inwardly ſupported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the ſtake to be burnt, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the moſt remarkable for his unaffected piety and the ſimplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great, who at that time too much deſerved it. His ſermons, which remain to this day, ſhow that he had much learning and much wit; and there is an air of ſincerity running through them, not to be found elſewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother, cried he, we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed." A furious bigot aſcended to preach to them and the people, while the fire was preparing; and Ridley gave a moſt ſerious attention to his diſcourſe. No way diſtracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the laſt, and then told him that he was ready to anſwer all that he had preached upon, if he were permitted a ſhort indulgence; but this was refuſed him. At length fire was ſet to the pile: Latimer was ſoon out of pain; but Ridley continued

to ſuffer much longer, his legs being conſumed before the fire reached his vitals.

One Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, had agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture ſupportable, he would make them a ſignal for that purpoſe in the midſt of the flames. His zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered was ſo ſtrong, that when the ſpectators thought him near expiring, by ſtretching out his arms he gave his friends the ſignal that the pain was not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like conſtancy, encouraged multitudes not only to ſuffer but even to aſpire after martyrdom.

But women ſeemed perſecuted with as much ſeverity even as men. A woman in Guernſey, condemned for hereſy, was delivered of a child in the midſt of the flames. Some of the ſpectators humanely ran to ſnatch the infant from danger; but the magiſtrate, who was a papiſt, ordered it to be flung in again; and there it was conſumed with the mother.

Cranmer's death followed ſoon after, and ſtruck the whole nation with horror. This prelate, whom we have ſeen acting ſo very conſpicuous a part in the reformation during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a priſoner, in conſequence of his imputed guilt in obſtructing the queen's ſucceſſion to the crown. But it was now reſolved to bring him to puniſhment; and to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he ſhould be puniſhed for hereſy rather than for treaſon. He was accordingly cited by the pope, to ſtand his trial at Rome; and though he was kept a priſoner at Oxford, yet, upon his not appearing, he was condemned as contumacious.

ous. But his enemies were not ſatisfied with his tortures, without adding to them the poignancy of ſelf accuſation. Perſons were, therefore, employed to tempt him by flattery and inſinuation, by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to ſign his recantation, by which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy and the real preſence. His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to ſign this paper; and now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him completely wretched, reſolved to deſtroy him. But it was determined, before they led him out to execution, that they ſhould try to induce him to make a recantation in the church before the people. The unfortunate prelate, either having a ſecret intimation of their deſign, or having once more recovered the native vigour of his mind, entered the church, prepared to ſurpriſe the whole audience by a contrary declaration. Being placed in a conſpicuous part of the church, a ſermon was preached by Cole, provoſt of Eton, in which he magnified Cranmer's converſion as the immediate work of heaven itſelf. He aſſured the archbiſhop, that, nothing could have been ſo pleaſing to God, the queen, or the people; he comforted him, that, in caſe it was thought fit that he ſhould ſuffer, numberleſs dirges and maſſes ſhould be ſaid for his ſoul; and that his own confeſſion of his faith would ſtill more ſecure his ſoul from the pains of purgatory. During the whole rhapſody, Cranmer expreſſed the utmoſt agony, anxiety, and internal agitation; he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he ſhed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguiſh. He then began a prayer,

filled with the moſt pathetic expreſſions of horror and remorſe: he then ſaid he was well appriſed of his duty to his ſovereign; but that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had ſigned a paper contrary to his conſcience; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation: he was willing, he ſaid, to ſeal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould undergo the firſt puniſhment. The aſſembly, conſiſting chiefly of papiſts who hoped to triumph in the laſt words of ſuch a convert, were equally confounded and incenſed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off diſſembling; and led him forward, amidſt the inſults and reproaches of his audience, to the ſtake at which Latimer and Ridley had ſuffered. He was reſolved to triumph over their inſults by his conſtancy and fortitude; and the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he ſtretched forth his right-hand, and held it in the flames till it was conſumed, while he frequently cried out in the midſt of his ſufferings, "That unworthy hand!" at the ſame time exhibiting no appearace of pain or diſorder. When the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of his tortures; his mind was occupied wholly upon the hopes of a future reward. After his body was deſtroyed, his heart was found entire; an emblem of the conſtancy with which he ſuffered.

Theſe perſecutions were now become odious to the whole nation; and, as it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, the perpetrators of them were all willing

ing to throw the odium from themſelves upon others. Philip, ſenſible of the hatred which he muſt incur upon this occaſion, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himſelf by a very groſs artifice. He ordered his confeſſor to deliver in his preſence a ſermon in favour of toleration; but Bonner in his turn would not take the whole of the blame, and retorted the ſeverities upon the court. In fact, a bold ſtep was taken to introduce a court ſimilar to that of the Spaniſh inquiſition, that ſhould be empowered to try heretics, and condemn them without any other form of law but its own authority. But even this was thought a method too dilatory in the preſent exigence of affairs. A proclamation, iſſued againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition, declared, that all perſons who had ſuch books in their poſſeſſion, and did not burn them without reading, ſhould be deemed rebels, and ſuffer accordingly. This, as might be expected, was attended with bloody effects: whole crowds were executed, till even at laſt the very magiſtrates who had been inſtrumental in theſe cruelties, refuſed to lend their aſſiſtance. It was computed, that, during this perſecution, two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons ſuffered by fire, beſides thoſe puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire, were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

All this was terrible; and yet the temporal affairs of the kingdom did not ſeem to be more ſucceſsful. From Philip's firſt arrival in England, the queen's pregnancy was talked of; and

her own extreme deſire that it ſhould be true, induced her to favour the report. When Pole, the pope's legate, was firſt introduced to her, ſhe fancied the child ſtirred in her womb; and this her flatterers compared to the leaping of John the Baptiſt in his mother's belly, at the ſalutation of the Virgin. The catholics were confident that ſhe was pregnant; they were confident that this child ſhould be a ſon; they were even confident that heaven would render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But it ſoon turned out that all their confidence was ill founded; for the queen's ſuppoſed pregnancy was only the beginning of a dropſy, which the diſordered ſtate of her health had brought upon her.

This opinion of the queen's pregnancy was all along carefully kept up by Philip, as it was an artifice by which he hoped to extend his authority in the kingdom. But he was miſtaken: the Engliſh parliament, however lax in their principles at that time, harboured a continual jealouſy againſt him, and paſſed repeated acts, by which they aſcertained the limits of his power, and confirmed the authority of the queen. Ambition was his only ruling paſſion; and the extreme fondneſs of the queen for his perſon was rather permitted by him than deſired. He only wanted to make her inclination ſubſervient to the purpoſes of his power; but finding her unable to ſatisfy him in that hope, he no longer treated her with any return of affection, but behaved to her with apparent indifference and neglect. At length, tired with her importunities and jealouſies, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, he took hold of the firſt opportunity to leave her, and went over to the emperor his father in Flanders. In the mean time,

time, the queen's paſſion increaſed in proportion to the coolneſs with which it was returned. She paſſed moſt of her time in ſolitude; ſhe gave vent to her ſorrows, either by tears or by writing fond epiſtles to Philip, who, except when he wanted money, ſeldom returned her any anſwer. To ſupply his demands upon theſe occaſions, ſhe took ſeveral very extorting methods, by loans which were forced from ſeveral whom ſhe thought moſt affectionate to her perſon, or beſt able to ſpare it. She offered the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp fourteen per cent. for a loan of thirty thouſand pounds, and yet was mortified by a refuſal.

She was more ſucceſsful in her attempts to engage the Engliſh in a war with France, at the inſtigation of her huſband, although in the end it turned out to her utter confuſion. A war had juſt been commenced between Spain and that kingdom; and Philip, who took this occaſion to come over to England, declared, that if he were not ſeconded by England at this criſis, he would never ſee the country more. This declaration greatly heightened the queen's zeal for promoting his intereſts; and though ſhe was warmly oppoſed in this meaſure by cardinal Pole and the reſt of her council, yet, by threatening to diſmiſs them all, ſhe at laſt ſucceeded. War was declared againſt France, and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom with vigour. An army of ten thouſand men was raiſed, A. D. 1557. and ſupplied by various methods of extortion, and ſent over into Flanders.

A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin ſeemed to promiſe great ſucceſs to the allied arms; but ſoon an action performed by the duke

of Guiſe in the midſt of winter, turned the ſcale in favour of France, and affected, if not the intereſts, at leaſt the honour of England in the tendereſt point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; it had been made the chief market for wool, and other Britiſh commodities; it had been ſtrongly fortified at different times, and was then deemed impregnable. But all the fortifications, which were raiſed before gunpowder was found out, were very ill able to reſiſt the attacks of a regular battery from cannon; and they only continued to enjoy an ancient reputation for ſtrength, which they were very ill able to maintain. Coligny, the French general, had remarked to the duke of Guiſe, that as the town of Calais was ſurrounded by marſhes, which during winter were impaſſable, except over a a dyke guarded by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newnam Bridge, the Engliſh were of late accuſtomed, to ſave expenſe, to diſmiſs a great part of the garriſon at the approach of winter, and recall them in ſpring. The duke of Guiſe upon this made a ſudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and aſſaulted the caſtle of St. Agatha with three thouſand arquebuſiers. The garriſon were ſoon obliged to retreat to their other caſtle of Newnam Bridge, and ſhortly after compelled to quit that poſt, and to take ſhelter in the city. Mean while a ſmall fleet was ſent to block up the entrance of the harbour; and thus Calais was inveſted by land and ſea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence; but his garriſon being very weak, they were unable to reſiſt an aſſault given by the French, who made a lodgement in the caſtle.

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On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this poſt; but having loſt two hundred men in the attack, he was obliged to capitulate; ſo that, in leſs than eight days, the duke of Guiſe recovered a city that had been in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh ſince the time of Edward the Third, and which he had ſpent eleven months in beſieging. This loſs filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with deſpair; ſhe was heard to ſay, that, when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

Theſe complicated evils, a murmuring people, an increaſing hereſy, a diſdainful huſband, and an unſucceſsful war, made dreadful depredations on Mary's conſtitution. She began to appear conſumptive; and this rendered her mind ſtill more moroſe and bigoted. The people now therefore began to turn their thoughts to her ſucceſſor; and the princeſs Elizabeth came into a greater degree of conſideration than before. During this whole reign, the nation was in continual apprehenſions with regard not only to the ſucceſſion but the life of this princeſs. The violent hatred of the queen broke out upon every occaſion; while Elizabeth, conſcious of her danger, paſſed her time wholly in reading and ſtudy, entirely detached from buſineſs. Propoſals of marriage had been made to her by the Swediſh ambaſſador, in his maſter's name; but ſhe referred him to the queen, who leaving it to her own choice, ſhe had the magnanimity to reſerve herſelf for better fortune. Nor was ſhe leſs prudent in concealing her ſentiments of religion, and eluding all queſtions relative to that dangerous ſubject. She was obnoxious to Mary

for

for two reaſons; as ſhe was next heir to the throne, it was feared ſhe might aſpire to it during her ſiſter's life-time; but it was ſtill more reaſonably apprehended that ſhe would, if ever ſhe came to the crown, make an innovation in that religion which Mary took ſuch pains to eſtabliſh. The biſhops, who had ſhed ſuch a deluge of blood, foreſaw this; and often told Mary that her deſtroying meaner heretics was of no advantage to the ſtate, while the body of the tree was ſuffered to remain. Mary ſaw and acknowledged the cogency of their arguments, confined her ſiſter with proper guards, and only waited for ſome freſh inſurrection, or ſome favourable pretext, to deſtroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her meditated cruelty.

Mary had been long in a very declining ſtate of health; and having miſtaken her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe made uſe of an improper regimen, which had increaſed the diſorder. Every reflection now tormented her. The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects, the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, whom ſhe hated, and, above all, her anxiety for the loſs of her huſband, who never intended to return; all theſe preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, whoſe gentleneſs in power we have often had occaſion to mention, ſurvived her but one day. She was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.

CHAP.



CHAP. XXVI.

ELIZABETH.

WERE we to adopt the maxim of the catholics, that evil may be done for the production of good, one might ſay that the perſecutions in Mary's reign were permitted only to bring the kingdom more generally over to the proteſtant religion. Nothing could preach ſo effectually againſt the cruelty and vices of the monks, as the actions of the monks themſelves. Wherever heretics were to be burnt, the monks were always preſent, rejoicing at the flames, inſulting the fallen, and frequently the firſt to thruſt the flaming brand againſt the faces of the ſufferers. A. D. 1558.

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The Engliſh were effectually converted, by ſuch ſights as theſe, from their ancient ſuperſtitions. To bring the people over to any opinion, it is only neceſſary to perſecute inſtead of attempting to convince. The people had formerly been compelled to embrace the proteſtant religion, and their fears induced them to conform; but now almoſt the whole nation were proteſtants from inclination.

Nothing, therefore, could exceed the joy that was diffuſed among the people upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any oppoſition. She had been at Hatfield, when informed of her ſiſter's death; and haſtening to London, was received by the multitude with univerſal acclamations. Elizabeth had her education in that beſt ſchool, the ſchool of adverſity; and ſhe had made the proper uſe of her confinement. Being debarred the enjoyment of pleaſures abroad, ſhe ſought for knowledge at home; ſhe cultivated her underſtanding, learned the languages and ſciences; but of all the arts which ſhe acquired, that of concealing her opinions, of checking her inclinations, of diſpleaſing none, and of learning to reign, were the moſt beneficial to her.

This virgin monarch, as ſome hiſtorians have called her, upon entering the Tower according to cuſtom, could not refrain from remarking on the difference of her preſent and her former fortune, when ſhe was ſent there as a priſoner, and from whence ſhe had ſo narrowly eſcaped. She had alſo been ſcarce proclaimed queen, when Philip, who had been married to Mary, but who ever teſtified a partiality in favour of Elizabeth, ordered his ambaſſador in London, the

duke

duke of Feria, to make her propoſals of marriage from his maſter. What political motives Elizabeth might have againſt this marriage, are not mentioned; but certain it is, that ſhe neither liked the perſon nor the religion of her admirer. She was willing at once to enjoy the pleaſures of independence, and the vanity of numerous ſolicitations. But while theſe were her views, ſhe returned him a very obliging though evaſive anſwer; and he ſtill retained ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, that he ſent a meſſenger to Rome, with orders to ſolicit the diſpenſation.

Elizabeth had, from the beginning, reſolved upon reforming the church, even while ſhe was held in the conſtraints of a priſon; and now, upon coming to the crown, ſhe immediately ſet about it. But not to alarm the partiſans of the catholic religion all at once, ſhe retained eleven of her ſiſter's council; and, in order to balance their authority, added eight more, who were known to be affectionate to the proteſtant religion. Her particular adviſer, however, was ſir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, a man more earneſtly employed in the buſineſs than the ſpeculations of the times; and whoſe temper it was to wiſh for any religion that he thought would contribute to the welfare of the ſtate. By his advice, therefore, ſhe immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all priſoners who were confined on account of religion. She next publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe forbade all preaching without a ſpecial licence. She alſo ſuſpended the laws ſo far as to have a great part of the ſervice to be read in Engliſh, and forbade the hoſt to be any more elevated in her preſence. A.D. 1559. A parliament ſoon after completed what the pre-

prerogative had begun; act after act was paſſed in favour of the reformation; and in a ſingle ſeſſion the form of religion was eſtabliſhed as we at preſent have the happineſs to enjoy it.

The oppoſition which was made to theſe religious eſtabliſhments was furious, but feeble. A conference of nine doctors on each ſide was propoſed and agreed to, in preſence of the lord-keeper Bacon. They were to diſpute publicly upon either ſide of the queſtion; and it was reſolved that the people ſhould hold to that which came off with the victory. Diſputations of this kind never carry conviction to either party; ſo much is to be ſaid, and ſo wide is the field that both ſides have to range in, that the ſtrength of both is exhauſted before the engagement may be properly ſaid to begin. The conference therefore came to nothing; the catholics declared that it was not in their power to diſpute a ſecond time upon topics on which they had gained a former victory; while the proteſtants, on the other ſide, aſcribed their caution to their fears. Of nine thouſand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of thoſe in the kingdom, only fourteen biſhops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, choſe to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion. Thus England was ſeen to change its belief in religion four times ſince the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth. "Strange, ſays a foreign writer, that a people ſo reſolute ſhould be guilty of ſo much inconſtancy; that the ſame people who this day aſſiſted at the execution of heretics, ſhould, the next, not only think them guiltleſs, but conform to their ſyſtems of thinking."

35 Eliza-

Elizabeth was now fixed upon a proteſtant throne, and had conſequently all the catholic powers of Europe her open or ſecret enemies. France, Scotland, the pope, and even Spain itſelf, began to think of combining againſt her. Her ſubjects of Ireland were concealed enemies; and the catholic party in England, though profeſſing obedience, were yet ready to take the advantage of her ſlighteſt misfortunes. Theſe were the dangers ſhe had to fear; nor had ſhe formed a ſingle alliance to aſſiſt her, nor poſſeſſed any foreign friends that ſhe could ſafely rely on. In this ſituation ſhe could hope for no other reſource but what proceeded from the affection of her own ſubjects, her own inſight into her affairs, and the wiſdom of her adminiſtration. From the beginning of her reign, ſhe ſeemed to aim at two very difficult attainments; to make herſelf loved by her ſubjects, and feared by her courtiers. She reſolved to be frugal of her treaſury, and ſtill more ſparing in her rewards to favourites. This at once kept the people in good humour, and the great too poor to ſhake off their dependence. She alſo ſhowed that ſhe knew how to diſtribute both rewards and puniſhments with impartiality; that ſhe knew when to ſooth, and when to upbraid; that ſhe could diſſemble ſubmiſſion, but preſerve her prerogatives. In ſhort, ſhe ſeemed to have ſtudied the people ſhe was born to govern, and even ſhowed that ſhe knew when to flatter their foibles to ſecure their affections.

Her chief miniſter was Robert Dudley, ſon to the late duke of Northumberland, whom ſhe ſeemed to regard from capricious motives, as he was poſſeſſed neither of abilities nor virtue. But to make amends, the two favourites next in

power

power were Bacon and Cecil, men of great capacity and infinite application; they regulated the finances, and directed the political meaſures with foreign courts, that were afterwards followed with ſo much ſucceſs.

A ſtate of permanent felicity is not to be expected here; and Mary Stuart, commonly called Mary queen of Scots, was the firſt perſon that excited the fears or the reſentment of Elizabeth. We have already mentioned, that Henry the Seventh married his eldeſt daughter, Margaret, to James, king of Scotland, who dying, left no iſſue that came to maturity, except Mary, afterwards ſurnamed Queen of Scots. At a very early age, this princeſs, being poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment of perſon and mind, was married to Francis, the dauphin of France, who dying, left her a widow at the age of nineteen. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry the Eighth, Francis, in right of his wife, began to aſſume the title of king of England; nor did the queen of Scots, his conſort, ſeem to decline ſharing in this empty appellation. But though nothing could have been more unjuſt than ſuch a claim, or more unlikely to ſucceed, Elizabeth, knowing that ſuch pretenſions might produce troubles in England, ſent an ambaſſador to France, complaining of the behaviour of that court in this inſtance. Francis, however, was not upon ſuch good terms with Elizabeth as to forego any claims that would diſtreſs her; and her ambaſſador was ſent home without ſatisfaction. Upon the death of Francis, Mary, the widow, ſtill ſeemed diſpoſed to keep up the title; but finding herſelf expoſed to the perſecutions of the dowager queen, who now began to take

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the lead in France, ſhe determined to return home to Scotland, and demanded a ſafe paſſage from Elizabeth through England. But it was now Elizabeth's turn to refuſe; and ſhe ſent back a very haughty anſwer to Mary's requeſt. From hence a determined perſonal enmity began to prevail between theſe rival queens, which ſubſiſted for many years after, until at laſt the ſuperior fortune of Elizabeth prevailed.

As the tranſactions of this unfortunate queen make a diſtinguiſhed part in Elizabeth's hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to give them greater room than I have hitherto given to the occurrences of Scotland. The reformation in England having taken place, in Scotland alſo that work was begun, but with circumſtances of greater animoſity againſt their ancient ſuperſtitions. The mutual reſentment which either party in that kingdom bore to each other knew no bounds; and a civil war was likely to end the diſpute. It was in this divided ſtate of the people that Elizabeth, by giving encouragement to the reformers, gained their affections from their natural queen, who was a catholic, and who conſequently favoured thoſe of that perſuaſion. Thus religion at laſt effected a ſincere friendſhip between the Engliſh and Scots, which neither treaties nor marriages, nor the vicinity of ſituation, was able to produce. The reformers, to a man, conſidered Elizabeth as their patroneſs and defender, and Mary as their perſecutor and enemy.

It was in this ſituation of things that Mary returned from France to reign at home in Scotland, entirely attached to the cuſtoms and manners of the people ſhe left; and conſequent-

ly very averſe to the gloomy ſeverity which her reformed ſubjects affected, and which they fancied made a proper ingredient in religion. A difference in religion between the ſovereign and the people is ever productive of bad effects; ſince it is apt to produce contempt on the one ſide, and jealouſy on the other. Mary could not avoid regarding the ſour manners of the reformed clergy, who now bore ſway among the people, with a mixture of ridicule and hatred; while they, on the other hand, could not look tamely on the gaieties and levities which ſhe introduced among them, without abhorrence and reſentment. The jealouſy thus excited, began every day to grow ſtronger; the clergy waited only for ſome indiſcretion in the queen, to fly out into open oppoſition; and her indiſcretion but too ſoon gave them ſufficient opportunity.

After two years had been ſpent in altercation and reproach between Mary and her ſubjects, it was reſolved upon at laſt by her council, that ſhe ſhould look out for ſome alliance, by which ſhe might be ſheltered and protected againſt the inſolence and miſguided zeal of her
A. D. 1564. ſpiritual inſtructors. After ſome deliberation, the lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lennox, was the perſon in whom their opinions and wiſhes centred. He had been born and educated in England, was now in his twentieth year, was couſin-german to the queen; and, what perhaps ſhe might admire ſtill more, he was extremely tall. Elizabeth was ſecretly no way averſe to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when informed that it was actually concluded and conſummated, ſhe pretended to teſtify the utmoſt diſpleaſure; ſhe menaced,

menaced, complained, proteſted; ſeized all the earl of Lennox's Engliſh eſtate, and threw the counteſs and her ſecond ſon into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was common enough with Elizabeth; and, on the preſent occaſion, it ſerved her as a pretext for refuſing Mary's title to the ſucceſſion of England, which that princeſs had frequently urged, but in vain.

But, notwithſtanding Elizabeth's complaints and reſentment, Mary was reſolved to indulge her own inclinations; and, ſtruck with the beauty of Darnley's figure, the match was driven forward with all expedition. Some of the firſt weeks of their connection ſeemed to promiſe a happy union for the reſt of their lives. However, it was not without ſome oppoſition from the reformers that this marriage was completed. It was agitated, whether the queen could marry without the conſent of the people? Some lords roſe up in arms to prevent it; but being purſued by a ſuperior force, they found themſelves obliged to abandon their country, and take refuge in England. Thus far all was favourable to Mary; and thus far ſhe kept within the bounds of ſtrict virtue. Her enemies were baniſhed, her rival over-ruled, and ſhe herſelf married to the man ſhe loved.

While Mary had been dazzled by the pleaſing exterior of her new lover, ſhe had entirely forgot to look to the accompliſhments of his mind. Darnley was but a weak and ignorant man, violent, yet variable in his enterpriſes; inſolent, yet credulous, and eaſily governed by flatterers; devoid of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, he was equally

incapable of all true ſentiments of love and tenderneſs. Mary, in the firſt effuſions of her fondneſs, had taken a pleaſure in exalting him beyond meaſure; but having leiſure afterwards to remark his weakneſs and his vices, ſhe began to convert her admiration into diſguſt; and Darnley, enraged at her increaſing coldneſs, pointed his vengeance againſt every perſon he eſteemed the cauſe of this change in her ſentiments and behaviour.

There was then in the court one David Rizzio, the ſon of a muſician at Turin, himſelf a muſician, who finding it difficult to ſubſiſt by his art in his own country, had followed the ambaſſador from that court into Scotland. As he underſtood muſic to perfection, and ſung a good baſs, he was introduced into the queen's concert, who was ſo taken with him, that ſhe deſired the ambaſſador, upon his departure, to leave Rizzio behind. The excellence of his voice ſoon procured him greater familiarities; and, although he was no means handſome, but rather ugly, the queen ſeemed to place peculiar confidence in him, and ever kept him next her perſon. Her ſecretary for French diſpatches having ſome time after fallen under her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rizzio to that office, who being ſhrewd, ſenſible, and aſpiring beyond his rank, ſoon after began to entertain hopes of being promoted to the important office of chancellor of the kingdom. He was conſulted on all occaſions; no favours could be obtained but by his interceſſion; and all ſuitors were firſt obliged to gain Rizzio to their intereſts, by preſents, or by flattery. It was eaſy to prevail upon a man of Darnley's jealous uxorious temper, that

Rizzio

Rizzio was the perſon who had eſtranged the queen's affections from him; and a ſurmiſe once conceived became to him a certainty. He ſoon, therefore, conſulted with ſome lords of his party, ſtung as he was with envy, rage, and reſentment; and they not only fanned the conflagration in his mind, but offered their aſſiſtance to diſpatch Rizzio. George Douglas, natural brother to the counteſs of Lennox, the lords Ruthven and Lindſey, ſettled the circumſtances of this poor creature's aſſaſſination among them, and determined that, as a puniſhment for the queen's indiſcretions, the murder ſhould be committed in her preſence. Mary was at this time in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, and was then ſupping in private, at table with the counteſs of Argyle, her natural ſiſter, ſome other ſervants, and her favourite Rizzio. Lord Darnley led the way into the apartment by a private ſtair-caſe, and ſtood for ſome time leaning at the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks and unexpected intruſion greatly alarmed the queen, who nevertheleſs kept ſilence, not daring to call out. A little after, lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conſpirators, ruſhed in, all armed, and ſhowing in their looks the brutality of their intentions. The queen could no longer reſtrain her terrors, but demanded the reaſon of this bold intruſion. Ruthven made her no anſwer; but ordered Rizzio to quit a place of which he was unworthy. Rizzio now ſaw that he was the object of their vengeance; and, trembling with apprehenſion, took hold of the queen's robes to put himſelf under her protection, who, on her part, ſtrove to interpoſe between the aſſaſſins and him. Douglas, in the

mean time, had reached the unfortunate Rizzio; and ſnatching a dagger from the king's ſide, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it in her preſence into Rizzio's boſom, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators, and dragged into the ante-chamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds. The unhappy princeſs continued her lamentations; but being informed of his fate, at once dried her tears, and ſaid ſhe would weep no more, for ſhe would now think of revenge. The inſult indeed upon her perſon and honour, and the danger to which her life was expoſed on account of her pregnancy, were injuries ſo atrocious and ſo complicated, that they ſcarce left room for pardon.

This act of violence was only to be puniſhed by temporiſing; ſhe pretended to forgive ſo great a crime; and exerted the force of her natural allurements ſo powerfully, that her huſband ſubmitted implicitly to her will. He ſoon gave up his accomplices to her reſentment, and retired with her to Dunbar, while ſhe, having collected an army which the conſpirators had no power to reſiſt, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, deſirous to ſtrengthen his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, was able to pacify her reſentment, and he ſoon after procured them liberty to return home.

The vengeance of the queen was implacable to her huſband alone; his perſon was before diſagreeable to her; and having perſuaded him

him to give up his accomplices, ſhe treated him with merited diſdain and indignation. But it were well for her character and happineſs had ſhe reſted only in deſpiſing:—ſhe ſecretly reſolved on a ſeverer revenge. The earl Bothwell, who was now become her favourite, was of a conſiderable family in Scotland; and though not diſtinguiſhed by any talents, civil or military, yet he made ſome noiſe in the diſſentions of the ſtate, and was an oppoſer of the reformation. He was a man of profligate manners, had involved his fortune in great debts, and had reduced himſelf to beggary by his profuſion. This nobleman, notwithſtanding, had ingratiated himſelf ſo far with the queen, that all her meaſures were entirely directed by his advice and authority. Reports were even ſpread of more particular intimacies; and theſe gave ſuch uneaſineſs to Darnley, that he left the court, and retired to Glaſgow, to be no longer a ſpectator of her exceſſes. But this was not what the queen aimed at; ſhe was determined upon more ample puniſhment. Shortly after, all thoſe who wiſhed well to her character, or repoſe to their country, were extremely pleaſed, and ſomewhat ſurpriſed, to hear that her tenderneſs for her huſband was revived, and that ſhe had taken a journey to viſit him during his ſickneſs there. Darnley was ſo far allured by her behaviour on this occaſion, that he reſolved to part with her no more; he put himſelf under her protection, and ſoon after attended her to Edinburgh, which it was thought would be a place more favourable to his declining health. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; but as the ſituation of that place was low, and the coarſeneſs of perſons about the

court, neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate, ſhe fitted up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him, and ſhe lay ſome nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that ſhe told him ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was to be there celebrated in her preſence. But dreadful conſequences enſued. About two o'clock in the morning the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; the houſe in which Darnley lay was blown up with gun-powder. His dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence or contuſion. No doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the general ſuſpicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator.

All orders of the ſtate, and the whole body of the people, began to demand juſtice on the ſuppoſed murderer; the queen herſelf was not entirely exempt from the general ſuſpicion; and papers were privately ſtuck up every where, accuſing her of being an accomplice. Mary, more ſolicitous to puniſh others than defend herſelf, offered rewards for the diſcovery of thoſe who had ſpread ſuch reports; but no rewards were offered for the diſcovery of the murderers. One indiſcretion led on to another; Bothwell, though accuſed of being ſtained with her huſband's blood, though univerſally odious to the people, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling on a viſit to her ſon, to ſeize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horſe, and to

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carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purpoſes. It was then thought by the people that the meaſure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was ſuppoſed to kill the queen's huſband, and to have offered violence to her perſon, could expect no mercy; but they were aſtoniſhed upon finding, inſtead of diſgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and, to crown all, that he was married to the queen, having divorced his own wife to procure this union.

This was a fatal alliance to Mary; and the people were now wound up by the complication of her guilt, to pay very little deference to her authority. The proteſtant teachers, who had great power, had long borne great animoſity towards her; the opinion of her guilt was by that means more widely diffuſed, and made the deeper impreſſion. The principal nobility met at Stirling; and an aſſociation was ſoon formed for protecting the young prince, and puniſhing the king's murderers. Lord Hume was the firſt in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horſe, ſuddenly environed the queen and Bothwell, in the caſtle of Borthwick. They found means, however, to make their eſcape; and Bothwell, at the head of a few forces, meeting the aſſociators within about ſix miles of Edinburgh, was obliged to capitulate, while Mary was conducted by the prevailing party into Edinburgh, amidſt the inſults and reproaches of the populace. From thence ſhe was ſent a priſoner to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſituated in a lake of that name, where ſhe ſuffered all the ſeverities of an unkind keeper, and an upbraiding conſcience, with a feeling heart. Bothwell was more fortunate; he

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fled, during the conference, unattended, to Dunbar, where fitting out a few ſmall ſhips, he ſubſiſted among the Orkneys for ſome time by piracy. Being purſued thither, and his domeſtics taken, who made a full diſcovery of his crimes, he eſcaped himſelf in an open boat to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years afterwards.

In this ſituation, Mary was not entirely without protection and friends. Queen Elizabeth, who now ſaw her rival entirely humbled, began to relent; ſhe was ſeen to reflect on the precarious ſtate of royal grandeur, and the danger of encouraging rebellious ſubjects; ſhe therefore ſent ſir Nicholas Throgmorton as her ambaſſador to Scotland, to interpoſe in her behalf; but the aſſociated lords thought proper to deny him, after ſeveral affected delays, all acceſs to Mary's perſon. However, though he could not confer with her, he procured her the beſt terms with the rebellious lords that he could; which were, that ſhe ſhould reſign the crown in favour of her ſon, who was as yet a minor; that ſhe ſhould appoint the earl of Murray, who had from the beginning teſtified a hatred to lord Darnley, as regent of the kingdom; a d, as he was then in France, that ſhe ſhould appoint a council till his arrival. Mary could not think of reſigning all power, without a plentiful effuſion of tears; but at laſt ſigned what was brought to her, even without inſpection. In conſequence of this forced reſignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the title of James the Sixth. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindneſs of the earl of Murray; but even here ſhe was diſappointed; the earl, upon his return, inſtead of comforting

forting her, as ſhe expected, loaded her with reproaches, which reduced her almoſt to deſpair.

The calamities of the great, even though juſtly deſerved, ſeldom fail of creating pity, and procuring friends. Mary, by her charms and promiſes, had engaged a young gentleman, whoſe name was George Douglas, to aſſiſt her in eſcaping from the place where ſhe was confined: and this he effected, by conveying her in diſguiſe in a ſmall boat, rowed by himſelf, aſhore. It was now that the news of her enlargement being ſpread abroad, all the loyalty of the people ſeemed to revive once more. As Bothwell was no longer aſſociated in her cauſe, many of the nobility, who expected to ſucceed him in favour, ſigned a bond of aſſociation for her defence; and in a few days ſhe ſaw herſelf at the head of ſix thouſand men.

The earl of Murray, who had been declared regent, was not ſlow in aſſembling his forces; and although his army was inferior to that of the queen of Scots, he boldly took the field againſt her. A battle was fought at Langſide, near Glaſgow, which was entirely deciſive in his favour; and he ſeemed to merit victory by his clemency after the action. Mary, now totally ruined, fled ſouthwards from the field of battle with great precipitation; and came with a few attendants to the borders of England, where ſhe hoped for protection from Elizabeth, who had upon ſome recent occaſions declared in her favour. A. D. 1568.

With theſe hopes ſhe embarked on board a fiſhing boat in Galloway, and landed the ſame day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles diſtant from Carliſle, whence ſhe immediately

diſpatched a meſſenger to London, craving protection, and deſiring liberty to viſit the queen. Elizabeth being informed of her misfortunes and retreat, deliberated for ſome time upon the proper methods of proceeding, and reſolved at laſt to act in a friendly yet cautious manner. She immediately ſent orders to lady Scrope, ſiſter to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and ſoon after diſpatched lord Scrope himſelf, and ſir Francis Knolles, to pay her all poſſible reſpect. Notwithſtanding theſe marks of diſtinction, the queen refuſed to admit Mary into her preſence, until ſhe had cleared her character from the many foul aſperſions that it was ſtained with. It might, perhaps, have been Elizabeth's duty to protect and not to examine her royal fugitive. However, ſhe acted entirely under the direction of her council, who obſerved, that if the crimes of the Scottiſh princeſs were really ſo great as they were repreſented, the treating her with friendſhip would but give them a ſanction; if ſhe was found guiltleſs upon trial, every enterpriſe, which friendſhip ſhould inſpire in her defence, would be conſidered as laudable and glorious.

Mary was now, though reluctantly, obliged to admit her ancient rival as an umpire in her cauſe; and the accuſation was readily undertaken by Murray the regent, who expected to remove ſo powerful an aſſiſtant as Elizabeth, by the atrocioufneſs of Mary's offences. This extraordinary conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was managed at York; three commiſſioners being appointed by Elizabeth, nine by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent,

regent, in which he himſelf was included. Theſe conferences were carried on for ſome time at the place firſt appointed; but after a while Elizabeth, either unwilling to decide, as ſhe would thus give up the power ſhe was now poſſeſſed of, or perhaps deſirous of throwing all light poſſible upon Mary's conduct, ordered the commiſſioners to continue their conferences at Hampton-court, where they were ſpun out by affected delays. Whatever might have been the cauſe of protracting this conference in the beginning, is not known; but many of the proofs of Mary's guilt, which were ſuppreſſed at York, made their appearance before the board at Hampton-court. Among other proofs, were many letters and ſonnets written in Mary's own hand to Bothwell, in which ſhe diſcovers her knowledge of Darnley's intended murder, and her contrivance to marry Bothwell, by pretending a forced compliance. Theſe papers, it muſt be owned, are not free themſelves from ſuſpicion of being a forgery; yet the reaſons for their authenticity ſeem to prevail. However this be, the proofs of Mary's guilt appearing ſtronger, it was thought proper to engage her advocates to give anſwers to them; but they, contrary to expectation, refuſed, alleging, that as Mary was a ſovereign princeſs, ſhe could not be ſubject to any tribunal; not conſidering that the aim of this conference was not puniſhment, but reconciliation; that it was not to try Mary in order to inflict penalties, but to know whether ſhe was worthy of Elizabeth's friendſhip and protection. Inſtead of attempting to juſtify her conduct, the queen of Scots laboured nothing ſo much as to obtain an interview with Elizabeth, conſcious that her inſinua-

tions, arts, and addreſs, of all which ſhe was a perfect miſtreſs, would be ſufficient to perſuade her royal ſiſter, and ſtand in place of innocence. But as ſhe ſtill perſiſted in a reſolution to make no defence, this demand was finally refuſed her.

She ſtill, however, perſiſted in demanding Elizabeth's protection; ſhe deſired that either ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted in her endeavours to recover her authority, or that liberty ſhould be given her for retiring into France, there to make trial of the friendſhip of other princes. But Elizabeth, ſenſible of the danger which attended either of theſe propoſals, was ſecretly reſolved to detain her in captivity; and ſhe was accordingly ſent to Tutbury caſtle, in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury; there ſhe gave her royal priſoner hopes of one day coming into favour; and that, unleſs her own obſtinacy prevented, an accommodation might at laſt take place.

But this unhappy woman was fated to nothing but misfortunes; and thoſe hopes of accommodation which ſhe had been given to expect, were ſtill put off by ſome ſiniſter accident. The factions of her own ſubjects in Scotland tended not a little to alarm the jealouſy of Elizabeth, and increaſe the rigours of Mary' confinement. The regent of Scotland, who had been long her inveterate enemy, happening to be aſſaſſinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, upon his death the kingdom relapſed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more aſſembled together, and became maſters of Edinburgh. They even ventured towards the borders of England, where they committed ſome diſorders, which called upon the vigilance of Elizabeth

Elizabeth to ſuppreſs. She quickly ſent an army commanded by the earl of Suſſex, who entering Scotland, ſeverely chaſtiſed all the partiſans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his miſtreſs by harbouring Engliſh rebels.

But the deſigns and arts of Elizabeth did not reſt here: while ſhe kept up the moſt friendly correſpondence with Mary, and the moſt warm proteſtations of ſincerity paſſed between them, ſhe was far from either aſſiſting her cauſe, or yet from rendering it deſperate. It was her intereſt to keep the factions in Scotland ſtill alive, to weaken the power of that reſtleſs and troubleſome nation: for this purpoſe ſhe weakened the party of the queen, that had now promiſed to prevail, by tedious negotiations; and in the mean time procured the earl of Lennox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray, who was ſlain.

This attempt, which promiſed to be favourable to Mary, proved thus unſucceſsful, as well as another, which was concerted near the place of her captivity. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed that higheſt title of nobility in England; and the qualities of his mind correſponded to his high ſtation. Beneficent, affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet from his moderation, he had never alarmed the jealouſy of the ſovereign. He was at this time a widower; and being of a ſuitable age to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his intereſts, made him deſirous of the match. But the obtaining Elizabeth's conſent, previous to their nuptials, was conſidered as a circumſtance eſſen- A. D. 1563.

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tial to his aims. But while this nobleman made almoſt all the nobility of England confidants to his paſſion, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his full intentions to the queen herſelf. On the contrary, in order to ſuppreſs the ſurmiſes that were currently reported, he ſpoke contemptuouſly of Mary to Elizabeth; affirmed that his eſtates in England were of more value than the revenue of the whole kingdom; and declared, that when he amuſed himſelf in his own tennis-court at Norwich, he was a more magnificent prince than a Scottiſh king. This duplicity only ſerved to inflame the queen's ſuſpicions the more; and finding that ſhe gave his profeſſions no great degree of credit, he retired from the court in diſguſt. Repenting, however, ſoon after this meaſure, he was reſolved to return, with a view of regaining the queen's good graces; but on the way, he was ſtopped by a meſſenger from the queen, and ſoon committed to the Tower, under the cuſtody of ſir Henry Nevil.

But the duke of Norfolk was too much beloved by his partiſans in the North, to be confined without an effort made for his releaſe. The earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland had prepared meaſures for a rebellion; had communicated their deſign to Mary and her miniſters; had entered into a correſpondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low-Countries, and had obtained his promiſe of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's miniſters was not to be eluded: orders were immediately ſent for their appearance at court; and now the inſurgent lords perceiving their ſchemes diſcovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters

matters were entirely prepared for its opening. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alleged that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove all evil counsellors from about the queen's person, and to restore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's favour. Their number amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they soon found themselves miserably undeceived; the queen's conduct had acquired the general good-will of the people, and she now perceived that her surest support was the justice of her actions. The duke of Norfolk himself, for whose sake they had revolted, used every method that his circumstances would permit, to assist and support the queen; the insurgents were obliged to retire before her forces to Hexham; and hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they found no other expedient but to disperse themselves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent to the castle of Lochlevin; Westmorland, after attempting to excite the Scots to revolt, was obliged to escape into Flanders, where he found protection. This rebellion was followed by another, led on by lord Dacres, but with as little success. Some severities were used against these revolters; and it is said that no less than eighty suffered by the hands of the executioner on this occasion. The queen was so well pleased with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour, that she now released him from the Tower, and allowed him to A D 1569.

return home, only exacting a promiſe from him, not to proceed any farther in his pretenſions to the queen of Scots.

But the queen's confidence was fatal to this brave but undeſigning nobleman. He had not been releaſed above a year, when new projects were ſet on foot by the enemies of the queen and the reformed religion, ſecretly fomented by Rodolphi, an inſtrument of the court of Rome, and the biſhop of Roſs, Mary's miniſter in England. It was concerted by them, that Norfolk ſhould renew his deſigns upon Mary, to which it was probable he was prompted by paſſion; and this nobleman entering into their ſchemes, he, from being at firſt only ambitious, now became criminal. It was mutually agreed, therefore, that the duke ſhould enter into all Mary's intereſts; while, on the other hand, the duke of Alva promiſed to tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to join Norfolk as ſoon as he ſhould be ready to begin. This ſcheme was ſo ſecretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of ſecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was found out merely by accident; for the duke having ſent a ſum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partizans in Scotland, omitted truſting the ſervant with the contents of his meſſage; and he finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger ſum than the duke mentioned to him, began to miſtruſt ſome plot, and brought the money, with the duke's letter, to the ſecretary of ſtate. It was by the artifices of that great ſtateſman, that the duke's ſervants were brought to make a full confeſſion of their maſter's guilt; and the biſhop of Roſs

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ſoon after, finding the whole diſcovered, did not ſcruple to confirm their teſtimony. The duke was inſtantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence upon him; and the queen, four months after, reluctantly ſigned the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmneſs and conſtancy; and though he cleared himſelf of any diſloyal intentions againſt the queen's authority, he acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered. A few months after, the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up by the regent, underwent a ſimilar trial, and was brought to the ſcaffold for his rebellion. All theſe ineffectual ſtruggles in favour of the unfortunate queen of Scots ſeemed only to rivet the chains of her confinement; and ſhe now found relief only in the reſources of her own mind, which diſtreſs had contributed to ſoften, refine, and improve. From henceforth ſhe continued for ſeveral years a precarious dependent on Elizabeth's ſuſpicions; and only waited for ſome new effort of her adherents, to receive that fate which political and not merciful motives ſeemed to prolong.



CHAP. XXVII.

ELIZABETH (Continued.)

HAVING thus far attended the queen of Scotland, whoſe conduct and misfortunes make ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure in this reign, we now return to ſome tranſactions, prior in point of time, but of leſs conſideration.

A.D 1562. In the beginning of this reign, the Hugonots, or reformed party in France, were obliged to call in the protection of the Engliſh; and, in order to ſecure their confidence, as they were poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of Normandy, they offered to put Havre into the queen's hands; a proffer which ſhe immediately accepted. She wiſely

wiſely conſidered, that, as that port commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it was of much more importance than Calais; and ſhe could thus have the French fleet in her power. Accordingly three thouſand Engliſh took poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of ſir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found ſo little capable of being defended, that it was immediately abandoned, and Havre itſelf was obliged to capitulate ſhortly after. Although the garriſon was reinforced and was found to amount to ſix thouſand men, and every means was employed for putting the town in a poſture of defence againſt the French army that was preparing to beſiege it, yet it felt a ſeverer enemy within its walls; for the plague had got into the town, and committed ſuch havock among the ſoldiers, that a hundred were commonly ſeen to die of it in one day. The garriſon, being thus diſpirited and diminiſhed to fifteen hundred men, finding the French army indefatigable in their approaches, were obliged to capitulate, and thus the Engliſh loſt all hopes of ever making another eſtabliſhment in the kingdom of France. This misfortune was productive of one ſtill more dreadful to the nation; for the Engliſh army carried back the plague with them to London, which made ſuch ravages, that twenty thouſand perſons died there in one year.

This, if we except the troubles raiſed upon the account of Mary, ſeems to have been the only diſaſter that, for above thirteen years, any way contributed to diſturb the peace of this reign. Elizabeth, ever vigilant, active, and reſolute, attended to the ſlighteſt alarms, and repreſſed them before they were capable of producing their A.D 1563.

effect. Her frugality kept her independent, and her diſſimulation (for ſhe could diſſemble) made her beloved. The opinion of the royal prerogative was ſuch, that her commands were obeyed as ſtatutes; and ſhe took care that her parliaments ſhould never venture to circumſcribe her power. In her ſchemes of government ſhe was aſſiſted by lord Burleigh, and ſir Anthony Bacon, two of the moſt able miniſters that ever directed the affairs of England; but while ſhe committed to them all the drudgery of duty, her favourite, Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, engroſſed all her favour, and ſecured all the avenues to preferment. All requeſts were made through him; and nothing given away without his conſent and approbation. His merits, however, were by no means adequate to his ſucceſſes; he was weak, vain, and boaſtful; but theſe qualities did no injury to the ſtate, as his two co-adjutors were willing, while he maintained all the ſplendour of office, to ſecure to themſelves the more ſolid emoluments.

During this peaceable and uniform government, England furniſhes but few materials for hiſtory. While France was torn with internal convulſions; while above ten thouſand of the Hugonots were maſſacred in one night, in cool blood, on the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, at Paris; while the inhabitants of the Low-Countries had ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, and were bravely vindicating their rights and their religion; while all the reſt of Europe was teeming with plots, ſeditions, and cruelty; the Engliſh, under their wiſe queen, were enjoying all the benefits of peace, extending commerce, improving manufactures, and ſetting an example of arts

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and learning to all the reſt of the world. Except the ſmall part, therefore, which Elizabeth took in foreign tranſactions, there ſcarce paſſed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

There had for ſome time ariſen diſguſts between the court of England and that of Spain. Elizabeth's having rejected the ſuit of Philip might probably have given riſe to theſe diſguſts; and after that, Mary's claiming the protection of that monarch tended ſtill more to widen the breach. This began, as uſual, on each ſide, with petty hoſtilities; the Spaniards, on their part, had ſent into Ireland a body of ſeven hundred of their nation and Italians, who built a fort there, but were ſoon after cut off to a man, by the duke of Ormond. On the other hand the Engliſh, under the conduct of ſir Francis Drake, aſſaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure,—in the New World. This was the firſt Engliſhman that ſailed round the globe, and the queen was ſo well pleaſed with his valour and ſucceſs, that ſhe accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ſhip which had achieved ſo memorable a voyage

In this manner, while hoſtilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England, and while the power of Spain, as well as the monarch's inclinations, were very formidable to the queen, ſhe began to look out for an alliance that might ſupport her againſt ſuch a dangerous adverſary. The duke of Anjou had long made pretenſions to Elizabeth; and though ſhe was near twenty-five years older than him, he took the reſolution to prefer his ſuit in perſon, and paid her a viſit in ſecret at Greenwich. It appears

that, though his figure was not advantageous, his addreſs was pleaſing. The queen ordered her miniſters to fix the terms of the contract; a day was appointed for the ſolemniſation of their nuptials, and every thing ſeemed to ſpeak an approaching union. But Elizabeth could not be induced, as that event appeared to approach, to change her condition; ſhe appeared doubtful, irreſolute, and melancholy; ſhe was obſerved to paſs ſeveral nights without any ſleep, till at laſt her ſettled habits of prudence prevailed over her ambition, and the duke of Anjou was diſmiſſed.

The queen, thus depriving herſelf of a foreign ally, looked for approbation and aſſiſtance from her own ſubjects at home. Yet even here ſhe was not without numberleſs enemies, who either hated her for religion, or envied her for ſucceſs. There were ſeveral conſpiracies formed againſt her life, many of which were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots: at leaſt it is certain that her name was uſed in all. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to him beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, ſon to the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under ſuſpicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own houſe. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; and ſhortly after confeſſing his guilt, he was condemned and executed. Soon after, William Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had on a former occaſion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a deſperate conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate his ſovereign and benefactor. He had conſulted upon the juſtice and expediency of

of this vile meaſure both with the pope's nuncio and legate, who exhorted him to perſevere in his reſolution, and extremely applauded his deſign. He therefore aſſociated himſelf with one Nevil, who entered zealouſly into the deſign; and it was determined to ſhoot the queen, while ſhe was taking the air on horſeback. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpoſe, the earl of Weſtmorland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing ſome acceptable ſervice to the queen, he might recover the eſtate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the laſt earl. He betrayed the whole conſpiracy to the miniſters; and Parry being thrown into priſon, confeſſed the guilt both to them, and to the jury who tried him. He was ſhortly after condemned and executed.

Theſe attempts, which were entirely ſet on foot by the catholic party, ſerved to increaſe the ſeverity of the laws againſt them. Popiſh prieſts were baniſhed the kingdom; thoſe who harboured or relieved them were declared guilty of felony; and many were executed in conſequence of this ſevere edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herſelf without ſome ſhare of the puniſhment. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewſbury, who had always been indulgent to his priſoner, particularly with regard to air and exerciſe; and ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of ſir Amias Paulett, and ſir Drue Drury, men of honour, but inflexible and rigid in their care and attention.

Theſe conſpiracies ſerved to prepare the way for Mary's ruin, whoſe greateſt misfortunes proceeded

ceeded rather from the violence of her friends, than the malignity of her enemies. Elizabeth's
A.D. 1586. miniſters had long been waiting for ſome ſignal inſtance of the captive queen's enmity, which they could eaſily convert into treaſon; and this was not long wanting. About this time one John Ballard, a popiſh prieſt, who had been bred in the Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims, reſolved to compaſs the death of a queen whom he conſidered as the enemy of his religion; and with that gloomy reſolution came over into England in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, with the aſſumed name of captain Forteſcue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an aſſaſſination, an inſurrection, and an invaſion. The firſt perſon he addreſſed himſelf to was Anthony Babington, of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and poſſeſſed of a very plentiful fortune. This perſon had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cauſe, and in particular for his attachment to the captive queen. He therefore came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence and aſſiſtance of ſome other aſſociates in this dangerous undertaking; Barnwell, a gentleman of a noble family in Ireland, Charnock, a gentleman of Lancaſhire, Abington, whoſe father had been keeper to the houſehold, and, chief of all, John Savage, a man of deſperate fortune, who had ſerved in the Low-Countries, and came into England under a vow to deſtroy the queen. He indeed did not ſeem to deſire any aſſociate in the bold enterpriſe, and refuſed for ſome time to permit any to ſhare with him in what he eſteemed his greateſt glory. He challenged the whole to himſelf; and it was

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with ſome difficulty that he was induced to depart from his prepoſterous ambition. The next ſtep was to appriſe Mary of the conſpiracy formed in her favour; and this they effected by conveying their letters to her (by means of a brewer that ſupplied the family with ale) through a chink in the wall of her apartment. In theſe, Babington informed her of a deſign laid for a foreign invaſion, the plan of an inſurrection at home, the ſcheme for her delivery, and the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the uſurper, by ſix noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends, who, from the zeal which they bore the catholic cauſe, and her majeſty's ſervice, would undertake the tragical execution. To theſe Mary replied, that ſhe approved highly of the deſign; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it ſhould ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a neceſſary circumſtance previous to any farther attempts either for her delivery, or the intended inſurrection.

Such was the ſcheme laid by the conſpirators; and nothing ſeemed ſo certain as its ſecrecy and its ſucceſs. But they were all miſerably deceived; the active and ſagacious miniſters of Elizabeth were privy to it in every ſtage of its growth, and only retarded their diſcovery till the meditated guilt was ripe for puniſhment and conviction. Ballard was actually attended by one Maude, a catholic prieſt, who was a ſpy in pay with Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate. One Polly, another of his ſpies, had found means to inſinuate himſelf among the conſpirators, and to give an exact account of their proceedings. Soon after, one Giffard a prieſt came over, and diſcovering the

the whole conſpiracy to the bottom, made a tender of his ſervice to Walſingham. It was he that procured the letters to be conveyed through the wall to the queen, and received her anſwers; but he had always taken care to ſhow them to the ſecretary of ſtate, who had them deciphered, and took copies of them all.

The plot being thus ripe for execution, and the evidence againſt the conſpirators inconteſtable, Walſingham reſolved to ſuſpend their puniſhment no longer. A warrant was accordingly iſſued out for the apprehending of Ballard; and this giving the alarm to Babington and the reſt of the conſpirators, they covered themſelves with various diſguiſes, and endeavoured to keep themſelves concealed. But they were ſoon diſcovered, thrown into priſon, and brought to trial. In their examination they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confeſſion of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, ſeven of whom died acknowledging their crime.

The execution of theſe wretched men only prepared the way for one of ſtill greater importance, in which a captive queen was to ſubmit to the unjuſt deciſions of thoſe who had no right, but that of power, to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, every avenue to the unfortunate Mary was ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her aſtoniſhment was equal to her anguiſh, when ſir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of her unhappy confederates. She was at that time mounted on horſeback, going a-hunting; and

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was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay caſtle, in Northamptonſhire, where the laſt ſcene of her miſerable tragedy was to conclude.

The council of England was divided in opinion about the meaſures to be taken againſt the queen of Scots. Some members propoſed, that as her health was very infirm, her life might be ſhortened by cloſe confinement; therefore, to avoid any imputation of violence or cruelty, the earl of Leiceſter propoſed that ſhe ſhould be diſpatched by poiſon; but the majority inſiſted on her being put to death by legal proceſs. Accordingly a commiſſion was iſſued for forty peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and paſs ſentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James the Fifth, king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France.

Thirty-ſix of theſe commiſſioners arriving at the caſtle of Fotheringay, preſented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to ſubmit to a trial for her late conſpiracy. Mary peruſed the letter with great compoſure; and, as ſhe had long foreſeen the danger that hung over her, received the intelligence without emotion or aſtoniſhment. She ſaid, however, that ſhe wondered the queen of England ſhould command her as a ſubject, who was an independent ſovereign, and a queen like herſelf. She would never, ſhe ſaid, ſtoop to any condeſcenſion which would leſſen her dignity, or prejudice the claims of her poſterity. The laws of England, ſhe obſerved, were unknown to her; ſhe was deſti- A. D. 1586. Nov. 11.

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tute of counſel; nor could ſhe conceive who were to be her peers, as ſhe had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that, inſtead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, as ſhe had hoped to obtain, ſhe had been confined in priſon ever ſince her arrival in the kingdom; ſo that ſhe derived neither benefit nor ſecurity from them. When the commiſſioners preſſed her to ſubmit to the queen's pleaſure, otherwiſe they would proceed againſt her as contumacious, ſhe declared ſhe would rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths than own herſelf a ſubject to any prince on earth: that, however, ſhe was ready to vindicate herſelf in a full and free parliament; as, for aught ſhe knew, this meeting of commiſſioners was deviſed againſt her life, on purpoſe to take it away with a pretext of juſtice. She exhorted them to conſult their own conſciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was much more extenſive than that of the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain Hatton vanquiſhed her objections, by repreſenting that ſhe injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the ſatisfaction of all mankind. This obſervation made ſuch an impreſſion upon her, that ſhe agreed to plead, if they would admit and allow her proteſt, of diſallowing all ſubjection. This, however, they refuſed: but they ſatisfied her, by entering it upon record; and thus they proceeded to a trial.

The principal charge againſt her was urged by ſerjeant Gaudy, who accuſed her with knowing, approving, and conſenting to Babington's conſpiracy. This charge was ſupported by Babington's confeſſion, by the copies which were taken of

of their correſpondence, in which her approbation of the queen's murder was expreſsly declared, by the evidence of her own two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle a Scotchman, who ſwore that ſhe received Babington's letters, and that they had anwered them by her orders. Theſe were ſtill farther confirmed by the teſtimony of Ballard and Savage, to whom Babington had ſhown theſe letters, declaring them to have come from the captive queen. To theſe charges Mary made a ſenſible and reſolute defence; ſhe ſaid Babington's confeſſion was extorted from his fears of the torture; which was really the caſe: ſhe alleged that the letters were forgeries; and ſhe defied her ſecretaries to perſiſt in their evidence, if brought into her preſence. She owned, indeed, that ſhe had uſed her beſt endeavours to recover her liberty, which was only purſuing the dictates of nature; but as for harbouring a thought againſt the life of the queen, ſhe treated the idea with horror. During the courſe of the trial, as a letter between Mary and Babington was reading, mention was made in it of the earl of Arundel and his brothers. On hearing their names, ſhe ſhed a flood of tears, exclaiming, Alas! what hath the noble houſe of the Howards endured for my ſake! She took occaſion alſo to obſerve, that this letter might have been a baſe contrivance of Walſingham's, who had frequently practiſed both againſt her life and her ſon's. Walſingham thus accuſed roſe up, and proteſted that his heart was free from malice; that he had never done any thing unbecoming an honeſt man in his private capacity, nor aught unworthy of the place he occupied in the ſtate. Mary declared

clared herſelf ſatisfied of his innocence, and begged he would give as little credit to the malicious accuſations of her enemies, as ſhe now gave to the reports which ſhe had heard to his prejudice.

Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain that her treatment was very ſevere. She deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of ſuch notes as ſhe had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refuſed her. She demanded a copy of her proteſt; but her requeſt was not complied with: ſhe even required an advocate to plead her cauſe againſt ſo many learned lawyers as had undertaken to urge her accuſations; but all her demands were rejected; and after an adjournment of ſome days, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt her in the Star-chamber in Weſtminſter, all the commiſſioners, except two, being preſent. At the ſame time a declaration was publiſhed by the commiſſioners, implying, that the ſentence againſt her did no wiſe derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland, ſon to the attainted queen.

Though the condemning a ſovereign princeſs at a tribunal to which ſhe owned no ſubjection, was an injuſtice that muſt ſtrike the moſt inattentive, yet the parliament of England, who met four days after, did not fail to approve the ſentence, and to go ſtill farther, in preſenting an addreſs to the queen, deſiring that it might ſpeedily be put into execution. But Elizabeth ſtill poſſeſſed, or pretended to poſſeſs, an horror for ſuch precipitate ſeverity. She entreated them to find ſome expedient to ſave her from the neceſſity of taking a ſtep ſo repugnant to her inclination. But at the ſame time ſhe ſeemed to dread

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dread another conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate her within a month, which probably was only an artifice of her miniſters to increaſe her apprehenſions, and conſequently her deſire of being rid of a rival that had given her ſo much diſturbance. The parliament, however, reiterated their ſolicitations, arguments, and entreaties; and even remonſtrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her ſubjects, and her children. Elizabeth affected to continue inflexible; but at the ſame time permitted Mary's ſentence to be made public; and lord Buckhurſt, and Beale, clerk to the council, were ſent to the unhappy queen to appriſe her of the ſentence, and the popular clamour for its ſpeedy execution.

Upon receiving this dreadful information, Mary ſeemed no way moved; but inſiſted that ſince her death was demanded by the proteſtants, ſhe died a martyr to the catholic religion. She ſaid, that as the Engliſh often embrued their hands in the blood of their own ſovereigns, it was not to be wondered at that they exerciſed their cruelty towards her. She wrote her laſt letter to Elizabeth, not demanding her life, which ſhe now ſeemed willing to part with, but deſiring that, after her enemies ſhould be ſatiated with her innocent blood, her body might be conſigned to her ſervants, and conveyed to France, there to repoſe in a catholic country, with the ſacred relics of her mother.

In the mean time, accounts of this extraordinary ſentence were ſpread into all parts of Europe; and the king of France was among the foremoſt who attempted to avert the threatened blow. He ſent over Believre as an extraordinary

ambaſſador, with a profeſſed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her ſon, was, as in duty obliged, ſtill more preſſing in her behalf. He diſpatched one Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to ſpare the life of his parent, and mixing threats of vengeance, in caſe of a refuſal. Elizabeth treated his remonſtrances with the utmoſt indignation; and when the Scots ambaſſador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, the queen anſwered with great emotion, "No, not "for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when ſolicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, ſeemed always diſpoſed to proceed to extremities againſt her; but when her miniſters urged her to ſtrike the blow, her ſcruples and her reluctance ſeemed to return.

Whether the queen was really ſincere in her reluctance to execute Mary, is a queſtion which, though uſually given againſt her, I will not take upon me to determine. Certainly there were great arts uſed by her courtiers to determine her to the ſide of ſeverity; as they had every thing to fear from the reſentment of Mary, in caſe ſhe ever ſucceeded to the throne. Accordingly, the kingdom was now filled with rumours of plots, treaſons, and inſurrections; and the queen was continually kept in alarm by fictitious dangers. She therefore appeared to be in great terror and perplexity; ſhe was obſerved to ſit much alone, and to mutter to herſelf half ſentences, importing the difficulty and diſtreſs to which ſhe was reduced. In this ſituation, ſhe one day called her ſecretary Daviſon, whom ſhe ordered to draw out ſecretly the warrant for Mary's execution,

tion, informing him, that ſhe intended to keep it by her in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the delivery of that princeſs. She ſigned the warrant, and then commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the ſeal affixed to it. Next morning, however, ſhe ſent two gentlemen ſucceſſively to deſire that Daviſon would not go to the chancellor, until ſhe ſhould ſee him; but Daviſon telling her that the warrant had been already ſealed, ſhe ſeemed diſpleaſed at his precipitation. Daviſon, who probably wiſhed himſelf to ſee the ſentence executed, laid the affair before the council, who unanimouſly reſolved, that the warrant ſhould be immediately put in execution, and promiſed to juſtify Daviſon to the queen. Accordingly, the fatal inſtrument was delivered to Beale, who ſummoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, and theſe together ſet out for Fotheringay caſtle, accompanied by two executioners, to diſpatch their bloody commiſſion.

Mary heard of the arrival of her executioners, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the next morning. Without any alarm ſhe heard the death-warrant read with her uſual compoſure, though ſhe could not help expreſſing her ſurpriſe, that the queen of England ſhould conſent to her execution. She even abjured her being privy to any conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Teſtament, which happened to lie on the table. She deſired that her confeſſor might be permitted to attend her, which, however, theſe zealots refuſed. After the earls had retired, ſhe ate ſparingly at ſupper, while ſhe comforted her attendants, who con-

tinued weeping and lamenting their miſtreſs, with a chearful countenance, telling them, they ought not to mourn, but to rejoice, at the proſpect of her ſpeedy deliverance from a world of miſery. Towards the end of ſupper, ſhe called in all her ſervants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order on their knees, and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of duty. She craved mutual forgiveneſs; and a plentiful effuſion of tears attended this laſt ſolemn ſeparation.

After this, ſhe reviewed her will, and peruſed the inventory of her effects. Theſe ſhe bequeathed to different individuals, and divided her money among her domeſtics, recommending them in letters to the king of France and the duke of Guiſe. Then going to bed at her uſual hour, ſhe paſſed part of the night in uninterrupted repoſe, and riſing, ſpent the remainder in prayer and acts of devotion. Towards morning, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet, the only one which ſhe had reſerved for this ſolemn occaſion. Thomas Andrews, the under-ſheriff of the county, then entering the room, he informed her that the hour was come, and that he muſt attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that ſhe was ready; and bidding her ſervants farewel, ſhe proceeded, ſupported by two of her guards, and followed the ſheriff, with a ſerene compoſed aſpect, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. In paſſing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, ſir Andrew Melvil, maſter of her houſehold, fell upon his knees, and ſhedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune, in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland.

"Lament

"Lament not, ſaid ſhe, but rather rejoice. "Mary Stuart will ſoon be freed from all her "cares. Tell my friends that I die conſtant in "my religion, and firm in my affection and fi- "delity to Scotland and France. God forgive "them that have long deſired my end, and "have thirſted for my blood, as the hart pant- "eth for the water-brook. Thou, O God, who "art truth itſelf, and perfectly underſtandeſt the "inmoſt thoughts of my heart, knoweſt how "greatly I have deſired that the realms of Scot- "land and England might be united. Commend "me to my ſon, and aſſure him I have done no- "thing prejudicial to the ſtate or the crown of "Scotland. Admoniſh him to perſevere in ami- "ty and friendſhip with the queen of Eng- "land, and ſee that thou doeſt him faithful ſer- "vice. And ſo, good Melvil, farewel; once "again farewel, good Melvil, and grant the "aſſiſtance of thy prayers to thy queen and thy "miſtreſs." In this place ſhe was received by the four noblemen, who, with great difficulty, were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her phyſician, apothecary, and two female attendants, to be preſent at her execution. She then paſſed into another hall, the noblemen and the ſheriff going before, and Melvil bearing up her train, where was a ſcaffold erected and covered with black. As ſoon as ſhe was ſeated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution. Then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, ſtanding without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which ſhe deſired him to forbear, as ſhe was firmly reſolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with ſpectators, who beheld her with pity and diſtreſs, while her

therefore, that Elizabeth was ſincere enough in her anger for the fate of Mary; as it was an event likely to brand her reign with the character of cruelty; and though ſhe might have deſired her rival's death, yet ſhe muſt certainly be ſhocked at the manner of it.

But the uneaſineſs the queen felt from this diſagreeable forwardneſs of her miniſtry, was ſoon loſt in one much greater. Philip, who had long meditated the deſtruction of England, and whoſe extenſive power gave him grounds to hope for ſucceſs, now began to put his projects into execution. The point on which he reſted his glory, and the perpetual object of his ſchemes, was to ſupport the catholic religion, and exterminate the Reformation. The revolt of his ſubjects in the Netherlands ſtill more inflamed his reſentment againſt the Engliſh, as they had encouraged that inſurrection, and aſſiſted the revolters. He had, therefore, for ſome time been making preparations to attack England by a powerful invaſion; and now every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of armaments, and every art was uſed to levy ſupplies for that great deſign. The marquis of Santa Cruz, a ſea-officer of great reputation and experience, was deſtined to command the fleet, which conſiſted of an hundred and thirty veſſels, of a greater ſize than any that had been hitherto ſeen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thouſand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thouſand more were aſſembled in the Netherlands, ready to be tranſported into England. The moſt renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious in ſharing in the honour of this great enterpriſe.

terprife., Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and others, haſtened to join this great equipment; no doubt was entertained of its ſucceſs, and it was oſtentatiouſly ſtyled, the Invincible Armada. It carried on board, beſide the land forces, eight thouſand four hundred mariners, two thouſand galley-ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty great pieces of braſs ordnance. It was victualled for ſix months, and was attended with twenty leſſer ſhips, called caravals, and ten ſalves, with ſix oars a-piece.

Nothing could exceed the terror and conſternation which all ranks of people felt in England upon news of this terrible Armada being under ſail to invade them. A fleet of not above thirty ſhips of war, and thoſe very ſmall, in compariſon, was all that was to oppoſe it by ſea; and as for reſiſting by land, that was ſuppoſed to be impoſſible, as the Spaniſh army was compoſed of men well diſciplined, and long inured to danger. The queen alone ſeemed undiſmayed in this threatening calamity; ſhe iſſued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a ſteady reſiſtance; and the more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, ſhe appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the ſoldiers to their duty, and promiſing to ſhare the ſame dangers, and the ſame fate with them. "I myſelf, cried ſhe, will be "your general, your judge, and the rewarder "of every one of your virtues in the field. "Your alacrity has already deſerved its re- "wards, and, on the word of a prince, they "ſhall be duly paid you. Perſevere then in "your obedience to command, ſhow your valour

" lour in the field, and we ſhall ſoon have a " glorious victory over thoſe enemies of my God, " my kingdom, and my people." The ſoldiers with ſhouts proclaimed their ardour, and only wiſhed to be led on to conqueſt.

Nor were her preparations by ſea driven on with leſs alacrity; although the Engliſh fleet was much inferior in number and ſize of ſhipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly ſuperior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as lord admiral, took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him; while a ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting of forty veſſels, Engliſh and Flemiſh, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the Engliſh, while all the proteſtant powers of Europe regarded this enterpriſe as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

In the mean time, while the Spaniſh Armada was preparing to ſail, the admiral Santa Cruz died, as likewiſe the vice-admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia, a perſon utterly unexperienced in ſea-affairs; and this, in ſome meaſure ſerved to fruſtrate the deſign. But ſome other accidents alſo contributed to its failure. Upon leaving the port of Liſbon, the Armada next day met with a violent tempeſt, which ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt of their ſhipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After ſome time ſpent in refitting, they again put to ſea,

ſea, where they took a fiſherman, who gave them intelligence that the Engliſh fleet, hearing of the diſperſion of the Armada in a ſtorm, was retired into Plymouth harbour, and moſt of the mariners diſcharged. From this falſe intelligence, the Spaniſh admiral, inſtead of going directly to the coaſt of Flanders, to take in the troops ſtationed there, as he had been inſtructed, reſolved to ſail to Plymouth, and deſtroy the ſhipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, the Engliſh admiral, was very well prepared to receive them; he was juſt got out of port when he ſaw the Spaniſh Armada coming full ſail towards him, diſpoſed in the form of a half moon, and ſtretching ſeven miles from one extremity to the other. However, the Engliſh admiral, ſeconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, attacked the Armada at a diſtance, pouring in their broadſides with admirable dexterity. They did not chuſe to engage the enemy more cloſely, becauſe they were greatly inferior in the number of ſhips, guns, and weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board ſuch lofty ſhips without manifeſt diſadvantage. However, two Spaniſh galleons were diſabled and taken. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the Engliſh ſtill followed and infeſted their rear; and their fleet continually increaſing from different ports, they ſoon found themſelves in a capacity to attack the Spaniſh fleet more nearly; and accordingly fell upon them, while they were as yet taking ſhelter in the port of Calais. To increaſe their confuſion, Howard took eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and filling them with combuſtible materials, ſent them, as if they had been fire-ſhips, one after the other into the midſt of

the enemy. The Spaniards, taking them for what they ſeemed to be, immediately took flight in great diſorder; while the Engliſh, profiting by their panic, took or deſtroyed about twelve of the enemy.

This was a fatal blow to Spain; the duke de Medina Sidonia being thus driven to the coaſt of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that as their ammunition began to fail, as their ſhips had received great damage, and as the duke of Parma had refuſed to venture his army under their protection, they ſhould return to Spain by ſailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his paſſage directly back. Accordingly they proceeded northward, and were followed by the Engliſh fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly ſhattered by a ſtorm. Seventeen of the ſhips, having five thouſand men on board, were afterwards caſt away upon the Weſtern Iſles, and the coaſt of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three and fifty ſhips only returned to Spain, in a miſerable condition; and the ſeamen as well as ſoldiers who remained, only ſerved, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting to renew ſo dangerous an expedition.

Theſe diſaſters of the Spaniſh Armada ſerved only to excite the ſpirit and courage of the Engliſh, to attempt invaſions in their turn. It would be endleſs to relate all the advantages obtained over the enemy at ſea, where the capture of every ſhip muſt have been made a ſeparate narrative; or their various deſcents upon different parts of the coaſt, which were attended with effects too tranſient for the page of hiſtory. It is ſufficient to obſerve that the ſea-captains of that

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reign are ſtill conſidered as the boldeſt and moſt enterpriſing ſet of men that England ever produced; and among this number, we reckon our Rawleigh and Howard, our Drake, our Cavendiſh, and Hawkins. The Engliſh navy then firſt began to take the lead, and has ſince continued irreſiſtible in all parts of the ocean.

Of thoſe who made the moſt ſignal figure in theſe depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of great bravery, generoſity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremoſt ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and addreſs. But with all theſe endowments, both of body and mind, he wanted prudence; being impetuous, haughty, and totally incapable of advice or controul. The earl of Leiceſter had died ſome time before, and now left room in the queen's affections for a new favourite, which ſhe was not long in chuſing, ſince the merit, the bravery, and the popularity of Eſſex were too great not to engage her attention. Elizabeth, though ſhe rejected an huſband, yet appeared always paſſionately deſirous of a lover; and flattery had rendered her ſo inſenſible to her want of beauty, and the depredations of age, that ſhe ſtill thought herſelf as powerful by her perſonal accompliſhments as by her authority. The new favourite was young, active, ambitious, witty, and handſome; in the field, and at court, he always appeared with ſuperior luſtre. In all the maſques which were then performed, the earl and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although ſhe was almoſt ſixty, and he not half ſo old, yet her vanity overlooked the diſparity; the world told

her that ſhe was young, and ſhe herſelf was willing to think ſo. This young earl's intereſt in the queen's affections, as may naturally be ſuppoſed, promoted his intereſts in the ſtate; and he conducted all things at his diſcretion. But, young and unexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the popularity he poſſeſſed, and the flatteries he received, were given to his merits and not to his favour. His jealouſy alſo of lord Burleigh, who was his only rival in power, made him ſtill more untractable; and the many ſucceſſes he had obtained againſt the Spaniards, increaſed his confidence. In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner, which ſo provoked her reſentment, that ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore he would not bear ſuch uſage even from her father. This offence, though very great, was overlooked by the queen; her partiality was ſo prevalent, that ſhe re-inſtated him in his former favour, and her kindneſs ſeemed to have acquired new force from that ſhort interruption of anger and reſentment. The death alſo of his rival lord Burleigh, which happened ſhortly after, ſeemed to confirm his power.

But though few men were poſſeſſed of Eſſex's talents, both for war and peace, yet he had not art enough to guard againſt the intrigues of a court; his temper was too candid and open, and

and gave his enemies many advantages over him. At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into ſubjection to the Engliſh, took every opportunity to make incurſions upon the more civiliſed inhabitants, and ſlew all they were able to overpower. To ſubdue theſe was an employment that Eſſex thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies diſpleaſed at thus removing a man from court, where he obſtructed all their private aims of preferment. But it ended in his ruin.

Eſſex, upon entering on his new command in Ireland, employed his friend, the earl of Southampton, who was long obnoxious to the queen, as general of horſe; nor was it till after repeated orders from Elizabeth, that he could be prevailed on to diſplace him. This indiſcretion was followed by another; inſtead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulſter, he led his forces into the province of Munſter, where he only exhauſted his ſtrength, and loſt his opportunity againſt a people that ſubmitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed that theſe miſcarriages were urged by the enemies of Eſſex at home; but they had ſtill greater reaſon to attack his reputation when it was known that, inſtead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them; and inſtead of forcing them to a ſubmiſſion, he had concluded a ceſſation of hoſtilities. This iſſue of an enterpriſe, from which much was expected, did not fail to provoke the queen moſt ſenſibly; and her anger was ſtill more heightened by the peeviſh and impatient letters which he daily wrote to her

and

and the council. But her reſentment againſt him was ſtill more juſtly let looſe, when ſhe found, that leaving the place of his appointment, and without any permiſſion demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to herſelf in perſon.

At firſt, indeed, Elizabeth was pleaſed at ſeeing a favourite come back, whom ſhe longed to ſee; but the momentary ſatisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, ſhe reflected on the impropriety of his conduct with greater ſeverity, and ordered him to remain a priſoner at his own houſe. But this was a reception Eſſex was not unprepared for: he uſed every expreſſion of humiliation and ſorrow, and tried once more the long unpractiſed arts of inſinuation that had brought him into favour. The queen, ſtill continuing inflexible, he reſolved to give up every proſpect of ambition; but previous to his retiring into the country, he aſſured the queen, that he could never be happy till he again ſaw thoſe eyes which were uſed to ſhine upon him with ſuch luſtre; that, in expectance of that happy moment, he would, like another Nebuchadnezzar, dwell with the beaſts of the field, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till ſhe again propitiouſly took pity on his ſufferings. This romantic meſſage, which was quite in the breeding of the times, ſeemed peculiarly pleaſing to the queen; ſhe thought him ſincere from the conſciouſneſs of her own ſincerity; ſhe therefore replied, that, after ſome time, when convinced of his ſincerity, ſomething might be expected from her lenity. When theſe ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection were known, they equally renewed the fears of his real enemies,

mies, and the aſſiduities of his pretended friends. He did not therefore decline an examination of his conduct before the council, ſecure in his miſtreſs's favour, and their impotence to do him a real injury. In conſequence of this he was only ſentenced, for his late miſconduct, to reſign his employments, and to continue a priſoner in his own houſe, till her majeſty's farther pleaſure ſhould be known.

He now had, in ſome meaſure, triumphed over his enemies; and the diſcretion of a few months might have reinſtated him in all his former employments; but the impetuoſity of his character would not ſuffer him to wait for a ſlow redreſs of what he conſidered as wrongs; and the queen's refuſing his requeſt t continue him in the poſſeſſion of a lucrative monopoly of ſweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, ſpurred him on to the moſt violent and guilty meaſures. Having long built with fond credulity on his great popularity, he began to hope, from the aſſiſtance of the giddy multitude, that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he ſuppoſed was denied him from the throne. With theſe aims he began to increaſe the general propenſity in his favour, by a hoſpitality little ſuited to his ſituation or his circumſtances. He entertained men of all ranks and profeſſions; but particularly the military, who, he hoped, in his preſent views might be ſerviceable to him. But his greateſt dependence was upon the profeſſions of the citizens of London, whoſe ſchemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratified the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleaſed the envious, by expoſing the faults of A. D. 1600.

thoſe in power. However, the chief ſeverity of his cenſure was heard to reſt upon the queen, whom he did not heſitate to ridicule; and of whom he declared that ſhe was now become an old woman, and that her mind was grown as crooked as her body.

It may well be ſuppoſed that none of theſe indiſcretions were concealed from the queen; his enemies, and her emiſſaries, took care to bring her information of all his reſentments and aims, and to aggravate his ſlighteſt reflections into treaſon. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous where her beauty was in queſtion; and, though ſhe was now in her ſeventieth year, yet ſhe eagerly liſtened to all the flattery of her courtiers, when they called her a Venus, or an angel. She therefore began to conſider him as unworthy of her eſteem, and permitted his enemies to drive him to thoſe extremities to which he was naturally very well inclined to proceed. He had, in fact, by this time collected together a ſelect council of malcontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and ſuppoſing their adherents much more numerous than they really were, they took no pains to conceal their intentions. Among other criminal projects, the reſult of blind rage and deſpair, they reſolved at laſt that ſir Chriſtopher Blount, one of his creatures, ſhould, with a choice detachment, poſſeſs himſelf of the palace gates; that ſir John Davies ſhould ſeize the hall, ſir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Eſſex himſelf would ruſh in from the Mews, attended by a body of his partiſans, into the queen's preſence, entreat her to remove his and her enemies, to aſſemble a new parliament, and

and to correct the defects of the preſent adminiſtration.

It was the fortune of this queen's reign, that all projects againſt it were fruſtrated by a timely notice of their nature and intent. The queen and council, alarmed at the great reſort of people to Eſſex, and having ſome intimations of his deſign, ſent ſecretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, which was aſſembled at the lord keeper's. While Eſſex was deliberating upon the manner he ſhould proceed, whether to attend the ſummons or fly into open rebellion, he received a private note, by which he was warned to provide for his own ſafety. He now, therefore, conſulted with his friends touching the emergency of their ſituation; they were deſtitute of arms and ammunition, while the guards at the palace were doubled, ſo that any attack upon it would be fruitleſs. While he and his confidents were in conſultation, a perſon, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a meſſenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendſhip and aſſiſtance againſt all his adverſaries. Wild as the project was of raiſing the city, in the preſent terrible conjuncture it was reſolved on; but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early in the morning of the next day, he was attended by his friends, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandes, Parker, and Mountcagle, with three hundred perſons of diſtinction. The doors of Eſſex-houſe were immediately locked, to prevent all ſtrangers from entering; and the earl now diſcovered his ſcheme for raiſing the city more fully to all the conſpirators. In the mean time, ſir Walter Raleigh ſending

a meſſage to ſir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there diſcovered all their proceedings. The queen being informed of the whole, ſent in the utmoſt haſte Egerton, the lord keeper, ſir William Knollys, the comptroller, Popham, the lord chief juſtice, and the earl of Worceſter, to Eſſex-houſe, to demand the cauſe of theſe unuſual proceedings. It was ſome time before they received admittance through the wicket into the houſe; and it was not without ſome degree of fury, that they ordered Eſſex and his adherents to lay down their arms. While they continued undaunted in the diſcharge of their duty, and the multitude around them clamoured loudly for their puniſhment, the earl of Eſſex, who now ſaw that all was to be hazarded, reſolved to leave them priſoners in his houſe, and to ſally forth to make an inſurrection in the city. But he had made a very wrong eſtimate in expecting that popularity alone could aid him in time of danger; he iſſued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with ſwords: and in his paſſage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. As he paſſed through the ſtreets, he cried aloud, "For the "queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my "life!" hoping to engage the populace to riſe: but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houſes; ſo that he was not joined by a ſingle perſon. He then proceeded to the houſe of Smith, the ſheriff, on whoſe aid he greatly depended; but the crowd gathered round him rather to ſatisfy their curioſity than to lend him any aſſiſtance. Eſſex now perceived that he was quite undone; and hearing that he

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was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, he began to think of retreating to his own houſe, there to ſell his life as dearly as he could. But he was prevented in his aims even there; the ſtreets in his way were barricadoed, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of ſir John Leviſon. In fighting his way through this obſtruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman, for whom he had a ſingular affection, was killed, and ſir Chriſtopher Blount wounded and taken. The earl himſelf, attended by a few of his followers, the reſt having privately retired, made towards the river; and, taking a boat, arrived once more at Eſſex-houſe, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his caſe was too deſperate for any remedy from valour; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hoſtages and conditions from his beſiegers, he ſurrendered at diſcretion, requeſting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

Eſſex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February following. Little could be urged in their defence; their guilt was too flagrant; and though it deſerved pity, it could not meet an acquittal. Eſſex, after condemnation, was viſited by that religious horror which ſeemed to attend him in all his diſgraces. He was terrified almoſt to deſpair by the ghoſtly remonſtrances of his own chaplain; he was reconciled to his enemies, and made a full confeſſion of his conſpiracy. It is alleged upon this occaſion, that he had ſtrong hopes of pardon, from the

irreſolution which the queen ſeemed to diſcover before ſhe ſigned the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which ſhe deſired him to ſend her in any emergency of this nature, and that it ſhould procure his ſafety and protection. This ring was actually ſent her by the counteſs of Nottingham, who, being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth ſecretly fired at his obſtinacy in making no applications for mercy and forgiveneſs. The fact is, ſhe appeared herſelf as much an object of pity as the unfortunate nobleman ſhe was induced to condemn. She ſigned the warrant for his execution; ſhe countermanded it; ſhe again reſolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderneſs. At laſt ſhe gave her conſent to his execution, and was never ſeen to enjoy one happy day more.

After the beheading of Eſſex, which death he ſuffered in the thirty-fifth year of his age, ſome of his aſſociates were brought in like manner to their trials. Cuffe, his ſecretary, a turbulent man, but poſſeſſed of great learning, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davies, were condemned, and executed; the queen pardoned the reſt, being perſuaded that they were culpable only from their friendſhip to their benefactor.

The remaining events of this reign are not conſiderable enough to come into a picture already crowded with great ones. With the death of her favourite Eſſex, all Elizabeth's pleaſures ſeemed to expire; ſhe afterwards went through the buſineſs of the ſtate merely from habit; but her ſatisfactions were no more. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the ad-

vantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her proſperous reign, were unable to remove. She had now found out the falſehood of the counteſs of Nottingham; who, on her death-bed, ſent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumſtance of the ring, which ſhe had neglected to deliver. This information only ſerved to awaken all that paſſion which the queen had vainly endeavoured to ſuppreſs. She ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed, crying out, that "God might pardon her, but ſhe never "would." She then broke from her, and reſigned herſelf to the dictates of her fixed deſpair. She refuſed food and ſuſtenance; ſhe continued ſilent and gloomy; ſighs and groans were the only vent ſhe gave to her deſpondence; and ſhe lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her. Perhaps the faculties of her mind were impaired by long and violent exerciſe; perhaps ſhe reflected with remorſe on ſome paſt actions of her life, or perceived, but too ſtrongly, the decays of nature, and the approach of her diſſolution. She ſaw her courtiers remitting their aſſiduity to her, in order to pay their court to James, the apparent ſucceſſor. Such a concurrence of cauſes was more than ſufficient to deſtroy the remains of her conſtitution: and her end was now viſibly ſeen to approach. Feeling a perpetual heat in her ſtomach, attended with an unquenchable thirſt, ſhe drank without ceaſing, but refuſed the aſſiſtance of her phyſicians. Her diſtemper gaining ground, Cecil, and the lord admiral, deſired to know her ſentiments with regard to the ſucceſſion. To this ſhe replied, that as the crown of England had

always been held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon any inferior character, but upon her immediate heir, the king of Scotland. Being then adviſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe replied that her thoughts did not in the leaſt wander from him. Her voice ſoon after left her; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours, and ſhe expired gently without a groan, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed with her circumſtances; in the beginning, ſhe was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, haughty and ſevere. But ever prudent, active, and diſcerning, ſhe procured for her ſubjects that happineſs which was not entirely felt by thoſe about her. She was indebted to her good fortune, that her miniſters were excellent; but it was owing to her indiſcretion that the favourites, who were more immediately choſen by herſelf, were unworthy. Though ſhe was poſſeſſed of excellent ſenſe, yet ſhe never had the diſcernment to diſcover that ſhe wanted beauty; and to flatter her charms at the age of ſixty-five, was the ſureſt road to her favour and eſteem.

But whatever were her perſonal defects, as a queen ſhe is to be ever remembered by the Engliſh with gratitude. It is true, indeed, that ſhe carried her prerogative in parliament to its higheſt pitch; ſo that it was tacitly allowed in that aſſembly, that ſhe was above all laws, and could make and unmake them at her pleaſure; yet ſtill ſhe was ſo wiſe and good, as ſeldom to exert that power which ſhe claimed, and to enforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of the people. It is true, in

like manner, that the Engliſh during her reign were put in poſſeſſion of no new or ſplendid acquiſitions; but commerce was daily growing up among them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their trueſt conqueſts was to be on the boſom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invaſion, and a prey to every plunderer, now aſſerted its ſtrength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The ſucceſsful voyages of the Spaniards and Portugueſe began to excite their emulation; and they fitted out ſeveral expeditions for diſcovering a ſhorter paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. The famous ſir Walter Raleigh, without any aſſiſtance from government, coloniſed new England, while internal commerce was making equal improvements; and many Flemings, perſecuted in their native country, found, together with their arts and induſtry, an eaſy aſylum in England. Thus the whole iſland ſeemed as if rouſed from her long habits of barbarity; arts, commerce, and legiſlation, began to acquire new ſtrength every day; and ſuch was the ſtate of learning at the time, that ſome fix this period as the Auguſtan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh, and Hooker, are conſidered as among the firſt improvers of our language. Spenſer and Shakeſpeare are too well known as poets, to be praiſed here; but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flouriſhed in this reign, deſerves, as a philoſopher, the higheſt applauſe; his ſtyle is copious and correct, and his wit is only ſurpaſſed by his learning and penetration. If we look through hiſtory, and conſider the riſe of kingdoms, we ſhall ſcarce find an inſtance of a people becoming, in ſo ſhort a time,

time, wiſe, powerful, and happy. Liberty, it is true, ſtill continued to fluctuate: Elizabeth knew her own power, and ſtretched it to the very verge of deſpotiſm; but now that commerce was introduced, liberty ſoon after followed; for there never was a nation perfectly commercial, that ſubmitted long to ſlavery.



CHAP. XXVIII.

JAMES I.

JAMES, the Sixth of Scotland and the Firſt of England, the ſon of Mary, came to the throne with the univerſal approbation of all orders of the ſtate, as in his perſon were united every claim, that either deſcent, bequeſt, or parliamentary ſanction, could confer. He had every reaſon, therefore, to hope for a happy reign; and he was taught, from his infancy, that his prerogative was uncontroulable, and his right tranſmitted from heaven. Theſe ſentiments he took no care to conceal; and even publiſhed them

them in many parts of thoſe works which he had written before he left Scotland.

But he was greatly miſtaken in the ſpirit of thinking of the times; for new ſyſtems of government, and new ideas of liberty, had for ſome time been ſtealing in with the Reformation; and only wanted the reign of a weak or merciful monarch, to appear without controul. In conſequence of the progreſs of knowledge, and a familiar acquaintance with the governments of antiquity, the old Gothic forms began to be deſpiſed; and an emulation took place, to imitate the freedom of Greece and Rome. The ſevere though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this riſing ſpirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new ſovereign and a new family appeared, leſs dreaded, and leſs loved by the people, ſymptoms immediately began to be ſeen of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

James ſcarce was entered into England when he gave diſguſt to many. The deſire in all to ſee their new ſovereign was ardent and natural; but the king, who loved retirement, forbid the concourſe that attended on his journey from Scotland, pretending that his great reſort of people would produce a ſcarcity of proviſions. To this offence to the people he added, ſoon after, what gave offence to the higher orders of the ſtate, by proſtituting titles of honour, ſo that they became ſo common as to be no longer marks of diſtinction. A paſquinade was fixed up at St. Paul's, declaring that there would be a lecture given on the art of aſſiſting ſhort memories, to retain the names of the new nobility.

But

But though his countrymen ſhared a part of theſe honours, yet juſtice muſt be done the king, by confeſſing that he left almoſt all the great offices in the hands he found them. Among theſe, Cecil, created earl of Saliſbury, who had been ſo active in the laſt reign againſt his own intereſts, was continued prime miniſter and chief counſellor. This crafty ſtateſman had been too cunning for the reſt of his aſſociates; and while, during Elizabeth's reign, he was apparently leagued againſt the earl of Eſſex whom James protected, yet he kept up a ſecret correſpondence with that monarch, and ſecured his intereſts without forfeiting the confidence of his party.

But it was not ſo fortunate with lord Grey, lord Cobham, and ſir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's aſſociates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's diſpleaſure, and were diſmiſſed their employments. Theſe three ſeemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation; for ſoon after they were accuſed of entering into a conſpiracy againſt the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims, have reached poſterity: all that is certain is, that they were condemned to die, but had their ſentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at laſt ſuffered for this offence, which was never proved.

This mercy, ſhown to thoſe ſuppoſed delinquents, was very pleaſing to the people; and the king, willing to remove all jealouſy of his being a ſtranger, began his attempts in parliament by an endeavour to unite both kingdoms into one. However, the people were not as yet ripe for this coali-

coalition; they were apprehenſive that the poſts and employments, which were in the gift of the court, would be conferred on the Scots, whom they were as yet taught to regard as foreigners. By the repulſe in this inſtance, as well as by ſome exceptions the houſe of commons took to the form of his ſummons to parliament, James found that the people he came to govern were very different from thoſe he had left behind; and perceived that he muſt give reaſons for every meaſure he intended to enforce.

He now, therefore, attempted to correct his former miſtake, and to peruſe the Engliſh laws, as he had formerly done thoſe of his own country; and by theſe he reſolved to govern. But even here he again found himſelf diſappointed. In a government ſo fluctuating as that of England, opinion was ever deviating from law; and what was enacted in one reign, was contradicted by cuſtom in another. The laws had all along declared in favour of an almoſt unlimited prerogative, while the opinions of the people were guided by inſtructors who began to teach oppoſite principles. All the kings and queens before him, except ſuch as were controuled by inteſtine diviſions, or awed by foreign invaſion, rather iſſued their commands to parliament than gave their reaſons. James, unmindful of this alteration in the opinions of the people, reſolved to govern in the ancient manner; while the people, on the contrary, having once got an idea of the inherent privileges of mankind, never gave it up, ſenſible that they had reaſon and power alſo on their ſide.

Numberleſs were the diſputes between the king and his parliament, during his whole reign;

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the one ſtriving to keep the privileges of the crown entire, the other aiming at abridging the dangerous part of the prerogative; the one labouring to preſerve cuſtoms eſtabliſhed for time immemorial, the other equally aſſiduous in defending the inherent privileges of humanity. Thus we ſee laudable motives actuating the diſputants on both ſides of the queſtion, and the principles of both founded either in law or in reaſon. When the parliament would not grant a ſubſidy, James had examples enough among his predeceſſors, which taught him to extort a benevolence. Edward the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, and queen Elizabeth herſelf, had often done ſo; and precedent undoubtedly entitled him to the ſame privilege. On the other hand, the houſe of commons, who found their growing power to protect the people, and not ſuffer the impoſitions of the crown, conſidered that this extorted benevolence might at length render the ſovereign entirely independent of the parliament, and therefore complained againſt it as an infringement of their privileges. Theſe attempts of the crown, and theſe murmurings of the commons, continued through this whole reign, and firſt gave riſe to that ſpirit of party which has ever ſince ſubſiſted in England; the one for preſerving the ancient conſtitution, by maintaining the prerogative of the king; the other for trying an experiment to improve it, by extending the liberties of the people.

During theſe conteſts, James, who ſuppoſed no arguments ſufficient to impair the prerogative, ſeemed entirely ſecure that none would attempt to allege any. He daily continued to entertain his parliament with ſet ſpeeches, and florid harangues,

harangues, in which he urged his divine right and abſolute power as things inconteſtable; to theſe the commons made as regular anſwers, not abſolutely denying his pretenſions, but ſlowly and regularly abridging his power.

However, though James perſevered in aſſerting his prerogative, and threatened thoſe who ſhould preſume to abridge it, yet his juſtice and clemency were very apparent in the toleration which he gave to the teachers of different religions throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people had long been irritated againſt one another, and each party perſecuted the reſt, as it happened to prevail; it was expected, therefore, that James would ſtrengthen the hands of that which was then uppermoſt; and that the catholics and ſectaries ſhould find no protection. But this monarch wiſely obſerved, that men ſhould be puniſhed for actions, and not for opinions; a deciſion which gave general diſſatisfaction; but the univerſal complaint of every ſect was the beſt argument of his moderation towards all.

Yet, mild as this monarch was, there was a project contrived in the very beginning of his reign for the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could ſcarcely be credited by poſterity. This was the gun-powder plot; than which a more horrid or terrible ſcheme never entered into the human heart to conceive, and which ſhows at once that the moſt determined courage may be united with the moſt execrable intentions.

The Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the acceſſion of James, both as a deſcendent from Mary, a rigid catholic, and [illegible]ho from his having ſhown ſome partiality to

that religion in his youth. But they ſoon diſcovered their miſtake; and were at once ſurpriſed and enraged to find James on all occaſions expreſs his reſolution of ſtrictly executing the laws enacted againſt them, and of perſevering in the conduct of his predeceſſor. This declaration determined them upon more deſperate meaſures; and they at length formed a reſolution of deſtroying the king and both houſes of parliament at a blow. The ſcheme was firſt broached by Robert Cateſby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family, who conceived that a train of gun-powder might be ſo placed under the parliament-houſe, as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Thomas Percy, a deſcendant from the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. Thomas Winter was next intruſted with the dreadful ſecret; and he went over to Flanders in queſt of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal and courage the conſpirators were thoroughly acquainted. When they enliſted any new zealot into their plot, the more firmly to bind him to ſecrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the ſacrament, the moſt ſacred rite of religion. Every tender feeling and all pity were baniſhed from their breaſts; and Teſmond and Garnet, two Jeſuits, ſuperiors of the order, abſolved their conſciences from every ſcruple.

How horrid ſoever the contrivance might appear, yet every member ſeemed faithful and ſecret in the league; and about two months before the ſitting of parliament, they hired a houſe, in Percy's name, adjoining to that in

which the parliament was to aſſemble. Their firſt intention was to bore a way under the parliament-houſe, from that which they occupied, and they ſet themſelves laboriouſly to the taſk; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickneſs, on approaching the other ſide, they were ſurpriſed to find that the houſe was vaulted underneath, and that a magazine of coals were uſually depoſited there. From their diſappointment on this account they were ſoon relieved, by information that the coals were ſelling off, and that the vaults would be then let to the higheſt bidder. They therefore ſeized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals with which it was then ſtored, as if for their own uſe. The next thing done was to convey thither thirty-ſix barrels of gun-powder, which had been purchaſed in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals and with faggots brought for that purpoſe. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of ſucceſs, they now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, were all expected to be preſent at the opening of the parliament. The king's ſecond ſon, by reaſon of his tender age, would be abſent, and it was reſolved that Percy ſhould ſeize or aſſaſſinate him. The princeſs Elizabeth, a child likewiſe, was kept at lord Harrington's houſe, in Warwickſhire; and ſir Everard Digby was to ſeize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the ſitting of parliament now approached. Never was treaſon more ſecret, or ruin more

more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conſpirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful ſecret, though communicated to above twenty perſons, had been religiouſly kept during the ſpace of near a year and a half; when all the motives of pity, juſtice, and ſafety, were too weak, a remorſe of private friendſhip ſaved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conſpirators, conceived a deſign of ſaving the life of lord Mounteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who alſo was of the ſame perſuaſion with himſelf. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a perſon unknown, and delivered by one who fled as ſoon as he had diſcharged his meſſage. The letter was to this effect: "My Lord, ſtay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of the times. And think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned; becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burned the letter."

The contents of this myſterious letter ſurpriſed and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addreſſed; and though inclined to think it a fooliſh attempt to affright and ridicule him, yet he judged it ſafeſt to carry it to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. Lord Saliſbury too was in-

clined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king in council, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared ſerious and alarming. In this univerſal agitation between doubt and apprehenſion, the king was the firſt who penetrated the meaning of this dark epiſtle. He concluded that ſome ſudden danger was preparing by gunpowder; and it was thought adviſable to inſpect all the vaults below the houſes of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purpoſely delayed the ſearch till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked thoſe great piles of faggots which lay in the vault under the houſe of peers; and he caſt his eye upon Fawkes, who ſtood in a dark corner, and who paſſed himſelf for Percy's ſervant. That daring determined courage, which he had long been noted for, even among the deſperate, was fully painted in his countenance, and ſtruck the lord chamberlain with ſtrong ſuſpicion. The great quantity of fuel alſo kept there for the uſe of a perſon ſeldom in town, did not paſs unnoticed; and he reſolved to take his time to make a more exact ſcrutiny. About midnight, therefore, ſir Thomas Knevett, a juſtice of the peace, was ſent with proper attendants; and juſt at the entrance of the vault, he ſeized a man preparing for the terrible enterpriſe, dreſſed in a cloak and boots, and a dark lanthorn in his hand. This was no other than Guy Fawkes, who had juſt diſpoſed every part of the train for its taking fire the next morning, the matches and other combuſtibles being found in his pockets. The whole of the deſign was now

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now diſcovered; but the atrociouſneſs of his guilt, and the deſpair of pardon, inſpiring him with reſolution, he told the officers of juſtice, with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himſelf up together, he had been happy. Before the council he diſplayed the ſame intrepid firmneſs, mixed even with ſcorn and diſdain, refuſing to diſcover his aſſociates, and ſhowing no concern but for the failure of his enterpriſe. But his bold ſpirit was at length ſubdued; being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack juſt ſhown him, his courage, fatigued with ſo long an effort, at laſt failed him, and he made a full diſcovery of all his accomplices.

Cateſby, Percy, and the conſpirators who were in London, hearing that Fawkes was arreſted, fled with all ſpeed to Warwickſhire, where ſir Everard Digby, relying on the ſucceſs of the plot, was already in arms, in order to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth. But the country ſoon began to take the alarm; and wherever they turned, they found a ſuperior force ready to oppoſe them. In this exigence, beſet on all ſides, they reſolved, to about the number of eighty perſons, to fly no farther, but make a ſtand at a houſe in Warwickſhire, to defend it to the laſt, and ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible. But even this miſerable conſolation was denied them: a ſpark of fire happening to fall among ſome gun-powder that was laid to dry, it blew up, and ſo maimed the principal conſpirators, that the ſurvivors reſolved to open the gate, and ſally out againſt the multitude that ſurrounded the houſe. Some were inſtantly cut to pieces; Cateſby, Percy, and Winter, ſtanding back to back, fought long and deſperately, till in the

end the two firſt fell covered with wounds, and Winter was taken alive. Thoſe that ſurvived the ſlaughter were tried and convicted; ſeveral fell by the hands of the executioner, and others experienced the king's mercy. The Jeſuits, Garnet and Oldcorn, who were privy to the plot, ſuffered with the reſt; and, notwithſtanding the atrociouſneſs of their treaſon, Garnet was conſidered by his party as a martyr, and miracles were ſaid to have been wrought by his blood.

Such was the end of a conſpiracy that brought ruin on its contrivers, and utterly ſupplanted that religion it was intended to eſtabliſh. Yet it is remarkable, that, before this audacious attempt, the conſpirators had always borne a fair reputation; Cateſby was loved by all his acquaintance, and Digby was as highly reſpected both for his honour and integrity as any man in the nation. However, ſuch are the lengths that ſuperſtition and early prejudice can drive minds originally well formed, but impreſſed by a wrong direction.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conſpiracy, was as great as his penetration in the prevention of it. The hatred excited in the nation againſt the catholics knew no bounds; and nothing but a total extinction of thoſe who adhered to that perſuaſion, ſeemed capable of ſatisfying the greater part of the people. James bravely rejected all violent meaſures, and nobly declared that the late conſpiracy, however atrocious, ſhould never alter his plans of government; but as, on the one hand he was determined to puniſh guilt, ſo, on the other, he would ſtill ſupport and protect innocence.

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This moderation was at that time no way pleaſing to the people; and the malignant part of his ſubjects were willing to aſcribe this lenity to the papiſts, to his being himſelf tinctured with their ſuperſtitions. However this be, he ſtill found his parliaments refractory to all the meaſures he took to ſupport his authority at home, or his deſire of peace with foreign ſtates. His ſpeeches indeed betrayed no want of reſolution to defend his rights; but his liberality to his favourites, and the inſufficiency of his finances to maintain the royal dignity, ſtill rendered him dependent upon his parliament for money, and they took care to keep him in indigence. Thus he was often forced into conceſſions, which, when once granted, could never be recalled; and, while he ſuppoſed himſelf maintaining the royal prerogative, it was diminiſhing on every ſide.

It was, perhaps, the oppoſition which James met with from his people, that made him place his affections upon different perſons about the court, whom he rewarded with a liberality that bordered on profuſion. The death of young prince Henry, his eldeſt ſon, which happened at this time, a youth of great hopes, gave him A.D 1612. no very great uneaſineſs, as his affections were rather taken up by newer connections. In the firſt rank of theſe ſtood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, who, after having paſſed ſome time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age All his natural accompliſhments conſiſted in a pleaſing viſage; all his acquired abilities, in an eaſy and graceful demeanour. This youth came to England with letters of recommendation, to ſee his countryman, lord Hay; and that nobleman

took an opportunity of aſſigning him the office of preſenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horſe, and his leg was broke in the king's preſence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure was completed. He himſelf, after tilting, paid him a viſit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. The ignorance and ſimplicity of the youth confirmed the king's affections, as he diſregarded learning in his favourites, of which he found but very little uſe in his own practice. Carre was therefore ſoon conſidered as the moſt riſing man at court: he was knighted, created viſcount Rocheſter, honoured with the order of the Garter, made a privy-counſellor; and, to raiſe him to the higheſt pitch of honour, he was at laſt created earl of Somerſet.

This was an advancement which ſome regarded with envy; but the wiſer part of mankind looked upon it with contempt and ridicule, ſenſible that ungrounded attachments are ſeldom of long continuance. Nor was it long before the favourite gave proofs of his being unworthy the place he held in the king's affections. Among the friends whom he conſulted at court, was ſir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning; among the miſtreſſes whom he addreſſed, was the young counteſs of Eſſex, whoſe huſband had been ſent by the king's command to travel, until the young couple ſhould be arrived at the age of puberty. But the aſſiduities of a man of ſuch perſonal accompliſhments as the favourite were too powerful to be reſiſted; a

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criminal correſpondence was commenced between the counteſs and the earl; and Eſſex, upon his return from his travels, found his wife beautiful and lovely indeed, but her affections entirely placed upon another. But this was not all; not contented with denying him all the rights of a huſband, ſhe was reſolved to procure a divorce, and then to marry the favourite to whom ſhe had granted her heart. It was upon this occaſion that Overbury was conſulted by his friend, and that this honeſt counſellor declared himſelf utterly averſe to the match. He deſcribed the counteſs as an infamous and abandoned woman; and went ſo far as to threaten the earl that he would ſeparate himſelf from him for ever, if he could ſo far forget his honour and his intereſt as to proſecute the intended marriage. The conſequence of this advice was fatal to the giver. The counteſs being made acquainted with his expoſtulations, urged her lover to undo him. In conſequence of this command, the king was perſuaded by the favourite to order Overbury on an embaſſy into Ruſſia; Overbury was perſuaded by the ſame adviſer to refuſe going; the delinquent was ſhut up in the Tower, and there he was poiſoned, by the direction of the counteſs, in a tart.

In the mean time the divorce, which had been with ſome difficulty procured, took place, and the marriage of the favourite was ſolemniſed with all imaginable ſplendor. But the ſuſpicion of Overbury's being poiſoned every day grew ſtronger, and reached the favourite, amidſt all the glare and ſplendor of ſeeming happineſs and ſucceſs. The graces of his youth gradually diſappeared; the gaiety of his manners was con-

converted into ſullen ſilence; and the king, whoſe affections had been engaged by theſe ſuperficial accompliſhments, began to cool to a man who no longer contributed to his amuſement. But the adoption of another favourite, and the diſcovery of Somerſet's guilt, ſoon removed all remains of affection which the king might ſtill harbour for him.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poiſon, having retired to Flushing, had divulged the ſecret there; and the affair being thus laid before the king, he commanded ſir Edward Coke, lord chief juſtice, to ſift the affair to the bottom, with rigorous impartiality. This injunction was executed with great induſtry and ſeverity; and the whole complication of their guilt was carefully unravelled. The lieutenant of the Tower, with ſome of the leſſer criminals, were condemned and executed; Somerſet and his counteſs were ſoon after found guilty, but reprieved and pardoned, after ſome years of ſtrict confinement. The king's duplicity and injuſtice on this occaſion are urged as very great ſtains upon his character. Somerſet was in his preſence at the time the officer of juſtice came to apprehend him; and boldly reprehended that miniſter's preſumption for daring to arreſt a peer of the realm before the king. But James, being informed of the cauſe, ſaid with a ſmile, "Nay, nay, you muſt go; for if "Coke ſhould ſend for myſelf, I muſt comply." He then embraced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and aſſured him he could not live without his company; yet he had no ſooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go! and the Devil go with thee! I ſhall never

"ſee thy face again." He was alſo heard to wiſh, ſome time after, that God's curſe might fall upon him and his family, if he ſhould pardon thoſe whom the law ſhould condemn. However, he afterwards reſtored them both to liberty, and granted them a penſion, with which they retired, and languiſhed out the remainder of their lives in guilt, infamy, and mutual recrimination.

But the king had not been ſo improvident as to part with one favourite until he had provided himſelf with another. This was George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, a younger brother of a good family, who was returned about that time from his travels, and whom the enemies of Somerſet had taken occaſion to throw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and faſhionable manners would do the reſt. Accordingly he had been placed in a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught the monarch's affections. The hiſtory of theſe times, which appears not without ſome degree of malignity againſt this monarch, does not however inſinuate any thing flagitious in theſe connections, but imputes his attachment rather to a weakneſs of underſtanding than to any perverſion of appetite. Villiers was immediately taken into the king's ſervice, and the office of cup-bearer was beſtowed upon him. It was in vain that Somerſet had uſed all his intereſt to depreſs him; his ſtern jealouſy only ſerved the more to intereſt the king in the young man's behalf.

But after Somerſet's fall, the favour of James was wholly turned upon young Villiers; in the courſe of a few years he created him viſcount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the Garter, maſter of the horſe, chief

chief juſtice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, maſter of the king's-bench office, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high-admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of counteſs of Buckingham; his brother was created viſcount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all puſhed up into credit and authority. It may, indeed, be reckoned among the moſt capricious circumſtances of this monarch's reign, that he, who was bred a ſcholar, ſhould chuſe for his favourites the moſt illiterate perſons about his court; that he, whoſe perſonal courage was greatly ſuſpected, ſhould laviſh his honours upon thoſe whoſe only accompliſhments were a ſkill in the warlike exerciſes of the times.

When unworthy favourites were thus advanced, it is not to be wondered at if the public concerns of the kingdom were neglected, and men of real merit left to contempt and miſery. Yet ſuch was the caſe at preſent, with regard to the cautionary towns in Holland, and the brave ſir Walter Raleigh at home.

In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when ſhe gave aſſiſtance to the Dutch, at that time ſhaking off the Spaniſh yoke, was not ſo diſintereſted upon her lending them large ſums of money, as not to require a proper depoſit for being repaid. The Dutch, therefore, put into her hands the three important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, Brille, and Ramekins, which were to be reſtored upon payment of the money due, which amounted in the whole to above eight hundred thouſand pounds. But James, in his preſent exigence, being to ſupply a needy favourite, and a craving

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being paid a third part of the money which was ſtrictly due. The cautionary towns were evacuated, which had held the ſtates in total ſubjection, and which an ambitious or enterpriſing prince would have regarded as his moſt valuble poſſeſſions.

The univerſal murmur which this impolitic meaſure produced, was ſoon after heightened by an act of ſeverity, which ſtill continues as the blackeſt ſtain upon this monarch's memory. The brave and learned Raleigh had been confined in the Tower almoſt from the beginning of James's acceſſion, for a conſpiracy which had never been proved againſt him; and in that abode of wretchedneſs he wrote ſeveral valuable performances, which are ſtill in the higheſt eſteem. His long ſufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour; and they who once deteſted the enemy of Eſſex, could not help pitying the long captivity of this philoſophical ſoldier. He himſelf ſtill ſtruggled for freedom; and perhaps it was with this deſire that he ſpread the report of his having diſcovered a gold mine in Guiana, which was ſufficient to enrich, not only the adventurers that ſhould ſeize it, but afford immenſe treaſures to the nation. The king, either believing his aſſertions, or willing to ſubject him to further diſgrace, granted him a commiſſion to try his fortune in queſt of theſe golden ſchemes; but ſtill reſerved his former ſentence as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh was not long in making preparations for this adventure, which, from the ſanguine manner in which he carried it on, many believed he thought to be as promiſing as he deſcribed it.

it. He bent his courſe to Guiana, and remaining himſelf at the mouth of the river Oroonoko with five of the largeſt ſhips, he ſent the reſt up the ſtream, under the command of his ſon and of captain Keymis, a perſon entirely devoted to his intereſts. But inſtead of a country abounding in gold, as the adventurers were taught to expect, they found the Spaniards had been warned of their approach, and were prepared in arms to receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out that "This was the true "mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; "and that none but "fools looked for any other:" but juſt as he was ſpeaking, he received a ſhot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another diſappointment: for when the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the town, they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had ſeen the mine, and gave the firſt account of it to Raleigh: but he now began to retract; and though he was within two hours' march of the place, he refuſed, on the moſt abſurd pretences, to take any effectual ſtep towards finding it. He returned, therefore, to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his ſon's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life in deſpair.

Raleigh, in this forlorn ſituation, found now that all his hopes were over; but ſaw his misfortunes ſtill farther aggravated by the reproaches of thoſe whom he had undertaken to command. Nothing could be more deplorable than his ſituation, particularly when he was told that he muſt be carried back to England to anſwer for his con-

conduct to the king. It is pretended that he employed many artifices, firſt to engage them to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements at a time of peace; and failing of that, to make his eſcape into France. But all theſe proving unſucceſsful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and ſtrictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy-council. Count Gondemar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, made heavy complaints againſt the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had expreſs orders to avoid all diſputes and hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. Wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular inſtance of his attachment, he ſigned the warrant for his execution, not for the preſent offence, but for his former conſpiracy. Thus ſhowing himſelf guilty of complicated injuſtice; unjuſt in originally having condemned him without proof; unjuſt in having truſted a man with a commiſſion, without a pardon expreſſive of that confidence; unjuſt, in puniſhing with death a tranſgreſſion that did not deſerve it; but moſt unjuſt of all, when he refuſed a new trial, but condemned him upon an obſolete ſentence. This great man died with the ſame fortitude that he had teſtified through life; he obſerved, as he felt the edge of the axe, that it was a ſharp but a ſure remedy for all evils; his harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head down on the block with the utmoſt indifference. His death enſured him that popularity, which his former intrepidity and his ſufferings, ſo much greater than his crimes, had tended to procure him; and no meaſure in this reign was attended with ſo much public diſſatisfaction. The death of this great man was ſoon after

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followed by the diſgrace of a ſtill greater, namely, the chancellor Bacon, who was accuſed of receiving bribes in his office; and, pleading guilty, was degraded and fined thirty thouſand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

A. D. 1618. But there ſoon appeared very apparent reaſons for James's partiality to the court of Spain in the caſe of Raleigh. This monarch had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himſelf, that in marrying his ſon Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he therefore was obliged to ſeek, either in the court of France or Spain, a ſuitable match, and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondemar, who was ambaſſador from that court, perceiving this weak monarch's partiality to a crowned head, made an offer of the ſecond daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and that he might render the temptation irreſiſtible, he gave hopes of an immenſe fortune which ſhould attend the princeſs. However, this was a negotiation that was not likely ſoon to be concluded; and from the time the idea was firſt ſtarted, James ſaw five years elapſe without bringing the treaty to any kind of concluſion.

A delay of this kind was very diſpleaſing to the king, who had all along an eye on the great fortune of the princeſs; nor was it leſs diſagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic paſſion, was in love without ever ſeeing the object of his affections. In this general tedium of delay, a project entered the head of Villiers, who had for ſome years ruled the king with abſolute authority, that was fitter to be conceived by the knight of a romance,

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than by a miniſter and a ſtateſman. It was nothing leſs than that the prince ſhould himſelf travel in diſguiſe into Spain, and viſit the object of his affections in perſon. Buckingham, who wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the prince, offered to be his companion; and the king, whoſe buſineſs it was to check ſo wild a ſcheme, gave his conſent to this hopeful propoſal. Their adventures on this ſtrange project could fill novels, and have actually been made the ſubject of many. Charles was the knight-errant, and Buckingham was his ſquire. They travelled through France in diſguiſe, aſſuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince firſt ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all poſſible demonſtrations of reſpect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, ſerenades, challenges, and jealouſy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the ducheſs of Olivarez, the prime miniſter's wife, and inſulted that miniſter in perſon. Theſe levities were not to be endured at ſuch a court as that of Spain, where jealouſy is ſo prevalent, and decorum ſo much obſerved; the match was therefore broke off; for what reaſon, hiſtorians do not aſſign; but if we may credit the noveliſts of that time, the prince had already fixed his affections upon the French princeſs.

In fact, a match for this prince was ſoon after negotiated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great Henry the Fourth; and this met with much better ſucceſs than the

former. However, the king had not the ſame allurements in proſecuting this match as the former, as the portion promiſed him was much ſmaller; but, willing that his ſon ſhould not be altogether diſappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the ſame terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James conſented to comply. In an article of his treaty of marriage, it was ſtipulated that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, ſhould belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has ſince been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Indeed a variety of cauſes ſeemed to conſpire, together with their own imprudence, to bring down upon them thoſe evils which they afterwards experienced. The houſe of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable; the prodigality of James to his favourites had made his neceſſities ſo many, that he was contented to ſell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons one after the other, to procure ſupplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances; and every grant of money was ſure to come with a petition for redreſs. The ſtruggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every ſeſſion; and the laſt advanced their pretenſions to ſuch a degree, that he began to take the alarm; but theſe evils fell upon the ſucceſſor, which the weakneſs of this monarch had contributed to give birth to.

Theſe domeſtic troubles were attended by others ſtill more important in Germany, and which produced in the end the moſt dangerous effects.

effects. The king's eldeſt daughter had been married to Frederic, the elector palatine of Germany; and this prince revolting againſt the emperor Ferdinand the Second, was defeated in a deciſive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the Engliſh crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the proteſtant religion for which he had contended, were ſtrong motives for the people of England to wiſh well to his cauſe; and frequent addreſſes were ſent from the commons to ſpur up James to take a part in the German conteſt, and to replace the exiled prince upon the throne of his anceſtors. James at firſt attempted to ward off the misfortunes of his ſon-in-law by negotiations; but A. D. 1620. theſe proving utterly ineffectual, it was reſolved at laſt to reſcue the Palatinate from the emperor by force of arms. Accordingly war was declared againſt Spain and the emperor; ſix thouſand men were ſent over into Holland, to aſſiſt prince Maurice in his ſchemes againſt thoſe powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were ſatisfied with any war which was to exterminate the papiſts. This army was followed by another conſiſting of twelve thouſand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promiſed its aſſiſtance. But the Engliſh were diſappointed in all their views; the troops being embarked at Dover, upon ſailing to Calais, they found no orders for their admiſſion. After waiting in vain for ſome time, they were obliged to ſail towards Zealand, where no proper meaſures were yet conſulted for their diſembarkation. Mean while a peſtilential diſtemper crept in among the forces, ſo long cooped up in narrow veſſels;

half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by ſickneſs, appeared too ſmall a body to march into the Palatinate; and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitleſs expedition.

Whether this misfortune had any effect upon the conſtitution of the king, is uncertain; but A.D. 1625. he was ſoon after ſeized with a tertian ague, which, when his courtiers aſſured him from the proverb that it was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant for a young king. After ſome fits he found himſelf extremely weakened, and ſent for the prince, whom he exhorted to perſevere in the proteſtant religion; then preparing with decency and courage to meet his end, he expired, after a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. With regard to foreign negotiations, James neither underſtood nor cultivated them; and perhaps in a kingdom ſo ſituated as England, domeſtic politics are alone ſufficient. His reign was marked with none of the ſplendors of triumph, nor no new conqueſts or acquiſitions; but the arts were nevertheleſs ſilently and ſucceſsfully going on to improvement. Reaſon was extending her influence, and diſcovering to mankind a thouſand errors in religion, in morals, and in government, that had long been reverenced by blind ſubmiſſion. The Reformation had produced a ſpirit of liberty, as well as of inveſtigation, among all ranks of mankind, and taught them that no precedents could ſanctify fraud, tyranny, or injuſtice. James taught them by his own example to argue upon the nature of the king's prerogative, and the extent of the ſubjects' liberty. He firſt began

by ſetting up the preſcriptive authority of kings againſt the natural privileges of the people; but when the ſubject was ſubmitted to a controverſy, it was ſoon ſeen that the monarch's was the weakeſt ſide.



CHAP. XXIX.

CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625. FEW princes have aſcended a throne with more apparent advantages than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties. The advantages were ſuch as might flatter even the moſt cautious prince into ſecurity; the difficulties were ſuch as no abilities could ſurmount. He found himſelf, upon coming to the crown, poſſeſſed of a peaceful and flouriſhing kingdom, his right undiſputed by all the world, his power ſtrengthened by an alliance with one of the moſt potent nations in Europe, his abſolute authority tacitly acknowledged by one part of his ſubjects, and

and enforced from the pulpit by the reſt. To add to all this, he was loved his people, whoſe hearts he had gained by virtues, his humility, and his candour.

But on the oppoſite ſide of the picture we are preſented with a very different ſcene. Men had begun to think on the different rights of mankind, and found that all had an equal claim to the ineſtimable bleſſings of freedom. The ſpirit of liberty was roused; and it was reſolved to oppoſe the ancient claims of monarchs who uſurped their power times of ignorance or danger, and who pleaded in ſucceeding times their former depredations as a preſcriptive privileges. Charles had been taught from his infancy to co the royal prerogative as a ſacred ple it was not in his power to alienate, much leſs his duty to abridge. His father, who had contributed ſo much to ſink the claims of the crown, had nevertheleſs boldly defended them in his writings, and taught his ſon to defend by the ſword what he had only inculcated by the preſs. Charles, though a prince of tolerable underſtanding, had not comprehenſion enough to ſee that the genius and diſpoſition of his people had received a total change; he reſolved therefore to govern by old maxims and precedents, a people who had lately found out theſe maxims were eſtabliſhed in times of ignorance and ſlavery.

In the foregoing reigns I have given very little of the parliamentary hiſtory of the times, which would have led me out of the way; but in the preſent it will be fit to point out the tranſactions of every parliament, as they make the principal figure in this remarkable æra, in which we ſee

genius and courage united in oppoſing injuſtice, ſeconded by cuſtom, and backed by power.

Charles undertook the reins of government with a fixed perſuaſion that his popularity was ſufficient to carry every meaſure. He had been loaded with a treaty for defending the Palatinate in the late reign; and the war declared for that purpoſe was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more eaſily declared than ſupplies granted. After ſome reluctance the commons voted him two ſubſidies; a ſum far from being ſufficient to ſupport him in his intended equipment, to aſſiſt his brother-in-law; and to this was added a petition for puniſhing papiſts, and redreſſing the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was ſtill more careſſed by the preſent monarch, did not eſcape their cenſures; ſo that, inſtead of granting the ſums requiſite, they employed the time in diſputations and complaints, till the ſeaſon for proſecuting the intended campaign was elapſed. Charles, therefore, wearied with their delays, and offended at the refuſal of his demands, thought proper to diſſolve a parliament which he could not bring to reaſon.

To ſupply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourſe to ſome of the ancient methods of extortion, practiſed by ſovereigns when in neceſſitous circumſtances. That kind of tax called a benevolence was ordered to be exacted, and privy-ſeals were iſſued accordingly. In order to cover the rigour of this ſtep, it was commanded that none ſhould be aſked for money but ſuch as were able to ſpare it; and he directed letters to different perſons, mentioning the ſums he deſired. With this the people were obliged,

obliged, though reluctantly, to comply; it was in fact authoriſed by many precedents; but no precedents whatſoever could give a ſanction to injuſtice.

With this money a fleet was equipped againſt Spain, carrying ten thouſand men; the command of which army was intruſted to lord Wimbleton, who ſailed directly to Cadiz, and found the bay full of ſhips of great value. But he failed in making himſelf maſter of the harbour, while his undiſciplined army landing, inſtead of attacking the town, could not be reſtrained from indulging themſelves in the wine, which they found in great abundance on ſhore. Farther ſtay therefore appeared fruitleſs; they were re-imbarked; and the plague attacking the fleet ſoon afterwards, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of ſucceſs, and return to England. Loud complaints were made againſt the court, for intruſting ſo important a command to a perſon who was judged ſo unqualified for the undertaking.

This ineffectual expedition was a great blow to the court; and to retrieve the glory of the nation, another attempt was to be made, but with a more certain proſpect of ſucceſs. New ſupplies therefore being requiſite, the king was reſolved to obtain them in a more regular and conſtitutional manner than before. Another parliament was accordingly called; and though ſome ſteps were taken to exclude the more popular leaders of the laſt houſe of commons, by nominating them as ſheriffs of counties, yet the preſent parliament ſeemed more refractory than the former. When the king laid before the houſe his neceſſities, and aſked for a ſupply, they

they voted him only three ſubſidies, which amounted to about an hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds; a ſum no way adequate to the importance of the war, or the neceſſities of the ſtate. But even this was not to be granted until the grievances of the ſtate were redreſſed. Their chief indignation was levelled againſt Buckingham, a miniſter who had no real merit, and the great infelicity of being the king's favourite. Whenever the ſubjects reſolve to attack the royal prerogative, they begin with the favourites of the crown; and wiſe monarchs ſeldom have any. Charles was not poſſeſſed of the art of making a diſtinction between friends and miniſters; and whoever was his friend was always truſted with the adminiſtration of his affairs. He loved Buckingham, and undertook to protect him; although to defend a perſon ſo obnoxious to the people, was to ſhare his reproach. The commons undertook to impeach him in the lower houſe, while the earl of Briſtol, who had returned from his embaſſy in Spain, accuſed him among his peers. The purport of the charge againſt him amounted to little more than that he had engroſſed too much power for himſelf and his relations; that he had neglected to guard the ſeas with the fleet; and that he had applied a plaſter to the late king's ſide, which was ſuppoſed to be poiſonous, and to haſten his end. Theſe frivolous accuſations muſt have ſunk of themſelves, had they not been intemperately oppoſed by the royal authority. The king gave orders to the lord-keeper to command the commons expreſsly in his name not to meddle with his miniſter and ſervant Buckingham. The more to enrage them, he had him elected chancellor

cellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and wrote that body a letter of thanks for their compliance. He aſſured the commons, that if they would not comply with his demands, he would try *new councils*. But what juſtly enraged them beyond all ſufferance, was, when two of their members, ſir Dudley Digges and ſir John Elliot, complained of this partiality in favour of a man odious to the nation, the king ordered both to be committed to priſon for ſeditious behaviour. This was an open act of violence, and ſhould have been ſupported, or never attempted.

It was now that the commons juſtly exclaimed that their privileges were infringed, and all freedom of debate deſtroyed. They proteſted in the moſt ſolemn manner, that neither of their members had ſaid any thing diſreſpectful of the king; and they made preparations for publiſhing their vindication. The king, whoſe character it was to ſhow a readineſs to undertake harſh meaſures, but not to ſupport them, releaſed the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obſtinacy in the houſe which his injuries had contributed to give riſe to. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the ſame offence in the houſe of lords, was raſhly impriſoned, and as tamely diſmiſſed by the king. Thus the two houſes having refuſed to anſwer the intentions of the court without previous conditions, the king, rather than give up his favourite, choſe to be without the ſupply, and therefore once more diſſolved the parliament.

The new councils which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to ſupply his neceſſities. Inſtead of making peace with Spain, and thus trying to abridge his

his expenſes ſince he could not enlarge his income, he reſolved to carry on the war, and to keep up a ſtanding army for this purpoſe. Perhaps alſo he had further views in keeping this army in pay, which was to ſeize upon the liberty of his ſubjects, when he found matters ripe for the execution. But at preſent his forces were new levied, ill paid, and worſe diſciplined; ſo that the militia of the country, that could be inſtantly led out againſt him, were far his ſuperiors. In order, therefore, to gain time and money, a commiſſion was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a diſpenſation of the penal laws againſt them. He borrowed a ſum of money from the nobility, whoſe contributions came in but ſlowly. But the greateſt ſtretch of his power was in the levying of *ſhip-money*. In order to equip a fleet (at leaſt this was the pretence made), each of the maritime towns was required, with the aſſiſtance of the adjacent counties, to arm as many veſſels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This was the commencement of a tax, which afterwards, being carried to very violent lengths, created ſuch great diſcontents in the nation. But the extortions of the miniſtry did not reſt here. Perſons of birth and rank, who refuſed the loan, were ſummoned before the council; and, upon perſiſting in a refuſal, were put into confinement. Thus we ſee here, as in every civil war, ſomething to blame on one ſide and the other; both ſides guilty of injuſtice, yet either in general actuated by motives of virtue; the one contending for the inherent liberties of mankind, the other for the preſcriptive privileges of the crown; both

both driven to all the extremes of falſehood, rapine, and injuſtice; and, by a fate attendant on humanity, permitting their actions to degenerate from the motives which firſt ſet them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly obeyed: moſt of thoſe who refuſed to lend their money were thrown into priſon, and patiently ſubmitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their releaſe. Five perſons alone undertook to defend the cauſe of the public; and at the hazard of their whole fortunes, were reſolved to try whether the king legally had a right to confine their perſons without an infringement of any law. The names of theſe patriots were ſir Thomas Darnel, ſir John Corbet, ſir Walter Earl, ſir John Haveningham, and ſir Edward Hambden. Their cauſe was brought to a ſolemn trial before the King's Bench, and the whole kingdom was attentive to the reſult of ſo important a trial.

By the debates on this ſubject it appeared, Nov. 1627. that perſonal liberty had been ſecured by no leſs than ſix different ſtatutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itſelf; that in times of turbulence and ſedition, the princes infringed upon thoſe laws; and of this alſo many examples were produced. The difficulty then lay to determine when ſuch violent meaſures were expedient; but of that the court pretended to be the ſupreme judge. As it was legal, therefore, that theſe five gentlemen ſhould plead the ſtatute, by which they might demand bail, ſo it was expedient in the court to remand them to priſon, without determining on the neceſſity of taking bail for the preſent. This was a cruel evaſion of juſtice; and,

and, in fact, ſatisfied neither the court nor the country party. The court inſiſted that no bail could be taken; the country exclaimed that the priſoners ſhould be ſet free.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, his people, and ſome of the moſt powerful foreign ſtates, it was not without amazement that all men ſaw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed the moſt natural alliance. This monarch, among the foibles of a good diſpoſition, relied too much on the ſincerity of his ſervants; and, among others, permitted Buckingham to lead him as he thought proper. All hiſtorians agree that this miniſter had conceived hopes of gaining the heart of the queen of France, while, at the ſame time, cardinal Richelieu aſpired to the ſame honour. The rivalry of theſe favourites produced an inveterate enmity between them; and from a private quarrel, they reſolved to involve their reſpective nations in the diſpute. However this be, war was declared againſt France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hoſtilities with that kingdom would be the ſureſt means of producing unanimity at home.

But fortune ſeemed to counteract all this monarch's attempts. A fleet was ſent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in France, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king: but that had for ſome years embraced the reformed religion, and now was beſieged by a formidable army. This expedition was as unfortunate as that on the coaſt of Spain. The duke's meaſures were ſo ill concerted, that the inhabitants of the city ſhut their

gates,

gates, and refuſed to admit allies, of whoſe coming they were not previouſly informed. Inſtead of attacking the iſland of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceleſs, he bent his courſe to the iſle of Rhé, which was garriſoned, and well fortified. He attempted there to ſtarve out the garriſon of St. Martin's caſtle, which was copiouſly ſupplied with proviſions by ſea. By that time the French had landed their forces privately at another part of the iſland; ſo that Buckingham was at laſt obliged to retreat, but with ſuch precipitation, that two thirds of his army were cut to pieces before he could reimbark, though he was the laſt man of the whole army that quitted the ſhore. This proof of his perſonal courage, however, was but a ſmall ſubject of conſolation for the diſgrace which his country had ſuſtained; and his own perſon would have been the laſt they would have regretted.

The bad ſucceſs of this expedition ſerved to render the duke ſtill more obnoxious, and the king more needy. He therefore reſolved to call a third parliament; for money was to be had at any rate. In his firſt ſpeech, he told them they were convoked on purpoſe to grant the ſupplies; and that if they ſhould neglect to contribute what was neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſtate, he would, in diſcharge of his conſcience, uſe thoſe means that God had put into his hands, for ſaving that which the folly of certain perſons would otherwiſe endanger. But the king did not find his commons intimidated by his threats, nor by thoſe of the lord-keeper, who commented upon what he ſaid. They boldly inveighed againſt his late arbitrary meaſures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of par-

parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, billeting ſoldiers, martial laws; theſe were the grievances complained of, and againſt theſe they inſiſted that an eternal remedy ſhould be provided. An immunity from theſe vexations they alleged to be the inherent right of the ſubject; and their new demands they reſolved to call a petition of right, as implying privileges they had already
A. D. 1628. been poſſeſſed of. Nothing could be more juſt than the enacting the contents of this petition of right into a law. The Great Charter, and the old ſtatutes, were ſufficiently clear in favour of liberty; but as all the kings of England had ever, in caſes of neceſſity or expediency, been accuſtomed at intervals to elude them; and as Charles, in a complication of inſtances, had lately violated them, it was but requiſite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded or violated by any authority, or any former precedent to the contrary.

But though this was an equitable propoſal; and though the ready compliance with it might have prevented many of the diſorders that were about to enſue, Charles was taught to conſider it as the moſt violent encroachment on his prerogative, and uſed at firſt every method to obſtruct its progreſs. When he found that nothing but his aſſent would ſatisfy the houſe, he gave it; but at firſt in ſuch an ambiguous manner as left him ſtill in poſſeſſion of his former power. At length, however, to avoid their indignation, and ſtill more to ſcreen his favourite Buckingham, he thought proper to give them full ſatisfaction. He came therefore to the houſe of peers, and pronouncing the uſual form of words, "Soit "comme il eſt deſiré, Let it be law as it is deſired,"

he

he gave the petition of right all the ſanction that was neceſſary to paſs it into a law. The acclamations with which the houſe reſounded, ſufficiently teſtified the joy of the people; and a bill for five ſubſidies, which paſſed ſoon after, was the ſtrongeſt mark of their gratitude.

But the commons, finding their perſeverance crowned with ſucceſs in this inſtance, were reſolved to carry the ſcrutiny into every part of government which they conſidered as defective. The leaders of the houſe of commons at this time were very different from thoſe illiterate barbarians who, a century or two before, came up to the capital, not to grant ſupplies, but to conſider where ſupplies were to be procured; not to debate as legiſlators, but to receive commands as inferiors. The men of whom the preſent parliaments were compoſed, were perſons of great knowledge and extenſive learning; of undaunted courage and inflexible perſeverance.

A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commiſſion had been granted to thirty-three of the principal officers of ſtate, empowering them to meet and concert among themſelves the methods of levying money by impoſitions, or otherwiſe. The commons applied for cancelling that commiſſion; and indeed the late ſtatute of the petition of rights ſeemed to render ſuch a commiſſion entirely unneceſſary. They objected to another commiſſion for raiſing money for the introduction of a thouſand German horſe, which, with juſt reaſon, they feared might be turned againſt the liberties of the people. They reſumed alſo their cenſure of Buckingham, whom they reſolved implacably to purſue. They alſo openly aſſerted, that the method of levying money,

uſed by the king, called tonnage and poundage, without the conſent of parliament, was a palpable violation of all the liberties of the people. All theſe grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonſtrance to his majeſty, when the king, hearing of their intentions, came ſuddenly to the houſe, and ended the ſeſſion by a prorogation.

But they were not ſo eaſily to be intimidated in their ſchemes for the liberty of the people. They urged their claims with ſtill more force on their next ſitting; and the duty of tonnage and poundage was diſcuſſed with greater preciſion than before. This tax upon merchandiſe was a duty of very early inſtitution, and had been conferred on Henry the Fifth, and all ſucceeding princes, during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. But the parliament had uſually granted it as of their ſpecial favour, in the beginning of each reign, except to Henry the Eighth, who had it not conferred on him by parliament till the ſixth year of his ſitting on the throne. Although he had continued to receive it from the beginning, yet he thought it neceſſary to have the ſanction of parliament to inſure it to him, which certainly implied that it was not an inherent privilege of the crown. Upon this argument the commons founded their objections to the levying it in the preſent reign; it was a tax they had not yet granted, and it had been granted by them in every preceding reign. They refuſed, therefore, to grant it now; and inſiſted that the king could not levy it without their permiſſion.

This bred a long conteſt, as may be ſuppoſed, between

between the commons and the crown. The officers of the cuſtom-houſe were ſummoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they ſeized the goods of the merchants who had refuſed to pay theſe duties. The barons of the Exchequer were queſtioned concerning their decrees on that head; the ſheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in ſupporting the cuſtom-houſe officers. Theſe were bold meaſures; but the commons went ſtill farther, by a reſolution to examine into religious grievances; and a new ſpirit of intolerance began to appear. The king, there- A. D. 1629.
fore, reſolved to diſſolve a parliament, which he found himſelf unable to manage; and ſir John Finch, the ſpeaker, juſt as the queſtion concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, roſe up, and informed the houſe that he had a command from the king to adjourn.

Nothing could exceed the conſternation and indignation of the commons upon this information. Juſt at the time they were carrying their moſt favourite points to a bearing, to be thus adjourned, and the parliament diſſolved, rendered them furious. The houſe was in an uproar; the ſpeaker was puſhed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a ſhort remonſtrance was framed, and paſſed by acclamation rather than vote. In this haſty production, Papiſts and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the ſtate; tonnage and poundage was condemned as contrary to law; and not only thoſe who raiſed that duty, but thoſe who paid it, were conſidered as guilty of capital crimes.

In conſequence of this violent procedure, ſir

Miles Hobart, ſir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode were, by the king's order, committed to priſon, under pretence of ſedition. But the ſame temerity that impelled Charles to impriſon them, induced him to grant them a releaſe. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were ſummoned before the King's Bench; but they refuſing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a ſuperior, were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to pay a fine, the two former of a thouſand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find ſureties for their good behaviour. The members triumphed in their ſufferings, while they had the whole kingdom as ſpectators and applauders of their fortitude.

In the mean time, while the king was thus diſtreſſed by the obſtinacy of the commons, he felt a much ſeverer blow in the death of his favourite, the duke of Buckingham, who fell a ſacrifice to his unpopularity. It had been reſolved once more to undertake the raiſing of the ſiege of Rochelle; and the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was ſent thither, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this diſgrace, the duke of Buckingham went in perſon to Portſmouth, to hurry on another expedition, and to puniſh ſuch as had endeavoured to defraud the crown of the legal aſſeſſments. In the general diſcontent that prevailed againſt this nobleman, it was daily expected that ſome ſevere meaſures would be reſolved on; and he was ſtigmatiſed as the tyrant and the betrayer of his country. There was one Felton, who caught the general contagion,—an

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Iriſhman, of a good family, who had ſerved under the duke as lieutenant, but had reſigned on being refuſed his rank on the death of his captain, who had been killed at the iſle of Rhé. This man was naturally melancholy, courageous, and enthuſiaſtic; he felt for his country, as if labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his ſingle arm to remove. He therefore reſolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did ſervice alſo to God and man. Animated in this manner with gloomy zeal, and miſtaken patriotiſm, he travelled down to Portſmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was ſurrounded by his levee, and giving out the neceſſary orders for embarkation. He was at that time engaged in converſation with one Soubize, and other French gentlemen; and a difference of ſentiments having ariſen in the conference, it was attended with all thoſe violent geſticulations with which foreigners generally enforce their meaning. The converſation being finiſhed, the duke drew towards the door; and while he was ſpeaking to one of his colonels, Felton ſtruck him over that officer's ſhoulder in the breaſt with his knife. The duke had only time to ſay, "The villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and inſtantly expired. No one had ſeen the blow, nor the perſon who gave it; but in the confuſion it was generally ſuppoſed that he was murdered by one of the Frenchmen who appeared ſo violent in their motions but a little before. They were accordingly ſecured, as for certain puniſhment; but in the mean time a hat was picked up, on the inſide of which was ſewed a paper containing four or five

lines of the remonſtrance of the commons againſt the duke; and under theſe lines a ſhort ejaculation, deſiring aid in the attempt. It was now concluded that this hat muſt belong to the aſſaſſin; and while they were employed in conjectures whoſe it could be, a man without a hat was ſeen walking very compoſedly before the door, and was heard to cry out, "I am he." He diſdained denying a murder in which he gloried; and averred that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country, and as ſuch deſerving to ſuffer. When aſked at whoſe inſtigation he had performed that horrid deed? he anſwered, that they need not trouble themſelves in that inquiry; that his conſcience was his only prompter; and that no man on earth could diſpoſe him to act againſt its dictates. He ſuffered with the ſame degree of conſtancy to the laſt; nor were there many wanting who admired not only his fortitude, but the action for which he ſuffered.

The king had always the higheſt regard for Buckingham, and was extremely mortified at his death; he began to perceive that the tide of popularity was entirely turned from him, and that the houſe of commons only ſerved to increaſe the general diſcontent. He felt therefore a diſguſt againſt parliaments; and he was reſolved not to call any more, till he ſhould ſee greater indications of a compliant diſpoſition in the nation. Having loſt his favourite Buckingham, he became more his own miniſter, and never afterwards repoſed ſuch unlimited confidence in any other. But, though the miniſter of the crown was changed, the meaſures ſtill continued the ſame; the ſame diſregard to the

petitions

petitions of the people, the ſame deſire of extending and ſupporting the prerogative, the ſame temerity, and the ſame weakneſs of condeſcenſion.

His firſt meaſure, however, now being left A. D. 1629. without a miniſter and a parliament, was a prudent one. He made peace with the two crowns againſt whom he had hitherto waged war, which had been entered upon without neceſſity, and conducted without glory. Being freed from theſe embarraſſments, he bent his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom, and took two men as his aſſociates in this taſk, who ſtill acted an under-part to himſelf. Theſe were ſir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created earl of Strafford; and Laud, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Strafford, by his eminent talents and abilities, merited all the confidence which the king repoſed in him. His character was ſtately and auſtere; more fitted to procure eſteem than love; his fidelity to the king was unſhaken; but in ſerving the intereſts of the crown, he did not conſider himſelf as an agent alſo for the benefit of the people. As he now employed all his counſels to ſupport the prerogative, which he formerly had endeavoured to diminiſh, his actions were liable to the imputation of ſelf-intereſt and ambition; but his good character in private life made up for that ſeeming duplicity of public conduct.

Laud was in the church ſomewhat reſembling Strafford in the ſtate, rigid, ſevere, punctual, and induſtrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cauſe of religion; and the forms, as eſtabliſhed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, ſeemed eſſentially connected with it. His deſire to keep

theſe on their former footing was imprudent and ſevere; but it muſt be confeſſed that the furious oppoſition he met with was ſufficient to excite his reſentment.

Since the times of Elizabeth, a new religious ſect had been gaining ground in England; which, from the ſuppoſed greater purity of their manners, were called *Puritans*. Of all other ſects, this was the moſt dangerous to monarchy; and the tenets of it more calculated to ſupport that imagined equality which obtains in a ſtate of nature. The partiſans of this religion, being generally men of warm, obſtinate tempers, puſhed their ſentiments into a total oppoſition to thoſe of Rome; and in the countries where their opinions had taken place, not only a religious but a political freedom began to be eſtabliſhed. All enthuſiaſts, indulging themſelves in rapturous flights, extaſies, viſions, and inſpirations, have a natural averſion to all ceremonies, rites, or forms, which are but external means of ſupplying that devotion which they want no prompter but their hearts to inſpire. The ſame bold and daring ſpirit which accompanied them in their addreſſes to the divinity, appeared in their political ſpeculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which had hitherto been almoſt totally unknown in Europe, began to ſhoot forth in this ungracious ſoil. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if kings and biſhops were willing to ſuppreſs the growth of opinions ſo unfavourable to their authority; and that Laud, who, of all men alive, was the moſt attached to ceremony and ſhow, ſhould treat with rigour, men who braved him into ſeverity. The truth is, that in the hiſtories of the times we find the

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great cauſe of the preſent conteſt between the king and his people to ariſe, not from civil but religious motives; not from a deſire on the one hand of extending power, and on the other of promoting liberty; but merely from the ardour of the king in ſupporting biſhops, ſurplices, and other ceremonies of the church, and the fury of the puritans in aboliſhing thoſe diſtinctions as remnants of popiſh idolatry. Thoſe diſtinctions in religion, at this day, are regarded with more unconcern; and, therefore, we are more apt to impute the diſorders of thoſe times rather to civil motives of eſtabliſhing liberty, which, in reality, made but a very ſubordinate conſideration.

The humour of the nation ran, at that time, into the extreme oppoſite of ſuperſtition; and thoſe ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accuſtomed in England, ſince the commencement of the Reformation, were in general conſidered as impious and idolatrous. It was, therefore, the moſt impolitic time in the world for Laud to think of introducing new ceremonies and obſervances, which could not fail of being treated with utter deteſtation. Nevertheleſs, he went on boldly with his injunctions for the obſervance of thoſe rites which in themſelves were of no moment, and were as unneceſſary to be urged by him, as ridiculous in being oppoſed by the puritans.

Orders were given, and rigorouſly inſiſted on, that the communion-table ſhould be removed from the middle of the church, where it hitherto ſtood ſince the Reformation, to the eaſt end; where it ſhould be railed in, and denominated the altar. The kneeling at the altar, and the

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uſing of copes (embroidered veſtments uſed in popiſh countries), were introduced, to the great diſcontent of the people. Some pictures were again admitted into the churches by his command. All ſuch clergy as neglected to obſerve every ceremony, were ſuſpended, and deprived by the high commiſſion-court. And to mortify the puritans ſtill more, orders were iſſued from the council, forbidding any controverſy, either from the pulpit or the preſs, on the points in diſpute between them and their opponents, concerning free will and predeſtination. At the ſame time that he obtained the king's protection for carrying on theſe meaſures, he took care to repay the monarch by magnifying on every occaſion the regal authority, and treating all pretenſions to independence, as a puritanical innovation. The king's divine, hereditary, and indefeaſible right, was the theme of every ſermon; and thoſe who attempted to queſtion ſuch doctrines, were conſidered as making an attack upon religion itſelf. The king, who had now taken a reſolution of calling no more parliaments, and which reſolution he adhered to for the ſpace of eleven years after, was very well ſatisfied with theſe doctrines, as they were the only means of facilitating his meaſures of government, and procuring thoſe pecuniary ſupplies which he had no legal means of obtaining.

While Laud, therefore, during this long interval, ruled the church, the king and Strafford undertook to manage the temporal intereſts of the nation. A proclamation was iſſued, in which Charles declared, "That whereas, for ſeve-
"ral ill ends, the calling again of a parlia-
"ment is divulged; yet the late abuſes, hav-
"ing

" ing for, the preſent, unwillingly driven him " out of that courſe, he will account it pre- " ſumption for any one to preſcribe to him any " time for calling that aſſembly." This was generally conſtrued as a declaration, that, during that reign, no more parliaments would be ſummoned; and every meaſure of the king but too well ſerved to confirm the ſuſpicion.

It was now that the people, without a defender, or hopes of redreſs, ſaw themſelves at the mercy of a monarch, who, though good and gentle in his own nature, might at any time change in his conduct. They now ſaw the conſtitution at one blow wholly overthrown, and one branch of the legiſlature aſſuming thoſe rights which had been divided between three. Tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by royal authority alone: cuſtom-houſe officers received orders from the council to enter any houſe whatever, in ſearch of ſuſpected goods; compoſitions were openly made with papiſts; and their religion was become a regular part of the revenue. The high-commiſſion court of Star-chamber exerciſed its power, independent of any law, upon ſeveral bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their ſufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined by this court five thouſand pounds, merely for diſſuading a friend from compounding with the commiſſioners who called upon him to take up the title of knighthood. Prynne, a barriſter of Lincoln's inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thouſand pages, which was entitled Hiſtriomaſtix, or a Scourge for the Stage. In this, beſide much paltry declamation againſt the ſtage, he

he took occaſion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church; and this was an offence that Laud was not likely to forgive. He was condemned by the Star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to ſtand in the pillory, in two places, Weſtminſter and Cheapſide; to loſe his ears, one at each place; to pay five thouſand pounds to the king, and to be impriſoned during life. This ſentence, which was equally cruel and unjuſt, was rigorouſly executed; and Prynne gloried in his ſufferings. Burton, a divine, and Baſtwick, a phyſician, were tried before this tribunal for ſchiſmatical libels, in which they attacked, with great ſeverity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to the ſame puniſhment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himſelf was alſo tried for a new offence, for which he was fined five thouſand pounds more, and ſentenced to loſe the remainder of his ears. The anſwers which theſe bold demagogues gave into court, were ſo full of contumacy and invective that no lawyer could be prevailed with to ſign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, being ſo unworthy men of their profeſſion, gave general offence; and the patience or rather alacrity with which they ſuffered, increaſed ſtill farther the public indignation.

The puritans, reſtrained in England, ſhipped themſelves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their ſyſtems of political freedom. But the government, unwilling that the nation ſhould be deprived of its uſeful members, or dreading the unpopularity of theſe emigrations, was prevailed on to iſſue a proclamation, debarring theſe devotees

votees acceſs even to thoſe inhoſpitable regions. Eight ſhips, lying in the Thames, and ready to ſail, were detained by order of council; and in theſe were embarked ſir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, who had reſolved for ever to abandon their native country. This may ſtand as a proof of the ſincerity theſe men afterwards teſtified in the cauſe for which they fought; and is a clear proof that hypocriſy, with which they were charged, in the beginning at leaſt, was not among the motives of their oppoſition.

Every year, every month, every day, gave freſh inſtances, during this long intermiſſion of parliaments, of the reſolution of the court to throw them off for ever: but the levying of *ſhip-money*, as it was called, being a general burthen, was univerſally complained of as a national grievance. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without the conſent of parliament; but then the exigency of the ſtate demanded ſuch a ſupply. As the neceſſity at preſent was not ſo apparent, and might excite murmurs among the people, a queſtion was propoſed by the king to the judges, whether, in a caſe of neceſſity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impoſe this tax? and whether he was not ſole judge of this neceſſity? To this the judges replied that he might; and that he was ſole judge of the neceſſity. In this univerſal appearance of obedience to the king's injunctions, John Hampden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamſhire, refuſed to comply with the tax, and reſolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty ſhillings for his eſtate, which he refuſed to pay; and

and the caſe was argued twelve days in the Exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England. The nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, the reſult of a trial that was to fix the limits of the king's power: but after the former opinion of the judges on this ſubject, the event might have been eaſily foreſeen. All the judges, four only excepted, gave ſentence in favour of the crown; while Hampden, who loſt his cauſe, was more than ſufficiently recompenſed by the applauſes of the people. Nothing now was heard in every company but murmurs againſt government, and encomiums on him who had withſtood its uſurpations. It was now alleged that tyranny was confirmed into ſyſtem; and that there was no redreſs except in ſullen patience, or contented ſlavery. Eccleſiaſtical tyranny was thought to give aid to political injuſtice; and all the rights of the nation, tranſmitted through ſo many ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by the blood of ſo many heroes, now lay proſtrate in undiſtinguiſhed neglect. In this univerſal ſtate of deſpondence, or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their ancient privileges, and even of acquiring greater than was compatible with the ſubjects' happineſs to be poſſeſſed of.

The Scots had, during the reign of James the Firſt, ſhown a ſtrong attachment to puritanical principles; and though they ſtill continued to allow of biſhops, yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James, indeed, had ſeen the low eſtate of epiſcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt and eſtabliſh it once more; but he died in the midſt

of

of his endeavours. It was the fate of Charles for ever to aim at projects which were at once impracticable and unneceſſary; he reſolved therefore to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt ſerved to alienate the affections of his Scottiſh ſubjects as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England. The flame of ſedition in Scotland paſſed from city to city, while the puritans formed a *Covenant*, to ſupport and defend their opinions; and reſolved to eſtabliſh their doctrines, or overturn the ſtate. On the other hand, the court was determined to eſtabliſh the liturgy of the church of England; and both ſides being obſtinate in opinion, thoſe ſanguinary meaſures were ſoon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the Engliſh.

The diſcontent and oppoſition which the king met with in maintaining epiſcopacy among his Engliſh ſubjects might, one would think, hinder him from attempting to introduce it among thoſe of Scotland; but ſuch was his ardour, that he was reſolved to have it eſtabliſhed in every part of his dominions. Having publiſhed an order for reading the liturgy in the principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations. The court party, indeed, with great juſtice, blamed their obſtinacy, as the innovations were but trifling; but the people might have retorted with ſtill greater force the folly of their thus earneſtly attempting the eſtabliſhment of trifles. The ſeditious diſpoſition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for reſtraint,

ſtraint, and the inſurrection became general over all the country.

Yet ſtill the king could not think of deſiſting from his deſign; and ſo prepoſſeſſed was he in favour of royal right, that he thought the very name of king, when forcibly urged, would induce them to return to their duty. But he was ſoon undeceived; the puritans of Scotland were republicans in principle as well as thoſe in England; and they only wiſhed to ſee the biſhops firſt humbled, in order to make a more ſucceſsful attack upon unguarded monarchy. Charles therefore finding them in arms, and that they inſiſted on diſplacing the biſhops, conſidered their demands as an open declaration of war; and accordingly ſummoned ſuch of the nobility of England as held lands of the crown, to furniſh him with a proper number of forces to oppoſe them. To add to theſe ſupplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy, as he was in fact fighting their cauſe; and, by means of his queen, the catholics were alſo preſſed for their aſſiſtance. By theſe methods he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an undiſciplined and reluctant army, amounting to about twenty thouſand men, and commanded by generals leſs willing to fight than to negotiate. His ſuperiority in numbers, however, gave him the manifeſt advantage over his rebellious ſubjects, who were no way ſlow in marching to give him battle. But Charles, who inherited the peaceable diſpoſition of his father, was unwilling to come to extremities, although a blow then ſtruck with vigour might have prevented many of his ſucceeding misfortunes. Inſtead of fighting with his opponents, he entered upon a treaty with them; ſo that a ſuſpenſion of

arms

arms was ſoon agreed upon, and a treaty of peace concluded, which neither ſide intended to obſerve; and then both parties agreed to diſband their forces. This ſtep of diſbanding the army was a fatal meaſure to Charles, as he could not levy a new army without great labour and expenſe; while the Scottiſh inſurgents, who were all volunteers in the ſervice, could be muſtered again at pleaſure. Of this the heads of the malcontents ſeemed ſenſible; for they lengthened out the negotiations with affected difficulties, and threw in obſtructions in proportion as they were confident of their own ſuperiority. At length, after much altercation, and many treaties ſigned and broken, both parties once more had recourſe to arms, and nothing but blood could ſatiate the contenders.

War being thus reſolved on, the king took every method as before for raiſing money to ſupport it. Ship-money was levied as uſual; ſome other arbitrary taxes were exacted from the reluctant people with great ſeverity; but one method of raiſing the ſupplies reflects immortal honour on thoſe who contributed. The counſellors and ſervants of the crown lent the king whatever ſums they could ſpare, and diſtreſſed their private fortunes to gratify their ſovereign. Theſe were the reſources of the crown to prepare an army; but they were far from being ſufficient; and there now remained only one method more, the long-neglected method of parliamentary ſupply.

It was now about eleven years ſince the king had called a parliament. The fierce and ungovernable ſpirit of the laſt had taught him to hate and to fear ſuch an aſſembly; but all re- A. D. 1640.

ſources being exhauſted, and great debts contracted, he was obliged to call another parliament, from which he had no great reaſon to expect any favour. The many illegal, and the numerous imprudent ſteps of the crown, the hardſhips which ſeveral perſons had ſuffered, and their conſtancy in undergoing puniſhment, had as much alienated the affections of the king's Engliſh as of his Scottiſh ſubjects. Inſtead of ſupplies the king was haraſſed with murmurs and complaints. The zealous in religion were pleaſed with the diſtreſſes of the crown, in its attempts againſt their brethren in opinion; and the real friends to the liberties of mankind ſaw, with their uſual penetration, that the time was approaching when the royal authority muſt fall into a total dependence on popular aſſemblies, and when public freedom muſt acquire a full aſcendant.

The houſe of commons could not be induced to treat the Scots, who were of the ſame principles with themſelves, and contended againſt the ſame ceremonies, as enemies to the ſtate. They regarded them as friends and brothers, who firſt roſe to teach them a duty it was incumbent on all virtuous minds to imitate. The king, therefore, could reap no other fruits from this aſſembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to ſupply himſelf with money was declared an abuſe, and a breach of the conſtitution. Tonnage and poundage, ſhip-money, the ſale of monopolies, the billeting ſoldiers upon refractory citizens, were all voted as ſtretches of arbitrary power. The king finding no hopes of redreſs from the commons, had recourſe to the houſe of peers; but this was equally

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ineffectual with the former application. The king finding no hopes of a compliance with his requeſt, but recrimination inſtead of redreſs, diſſolved the parliament, to try more feaſible methods of removing his neceſſities.

The king having now made enemies of his Scottiſh ſubjects, by controuling them in their mode of worſhip, and of the commons by diſſolving them, it remained to exaſperate the city of London againſt him by ſome new imprudence. Upon their refuſing to lend money to carry on the war againſt the Scots, he ſued the citizens in the Star-chamber for ſome lands in Ireland, and made them pay a conſiderable fine. He continued alſo to exact all the taxes againſt which every former parliament had remonſtrated, but all was inſufficient. A loan of forty thouſand pounds was extorted from the Spaniſh merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, expoſed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the ſoldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but ſuppoſed to be aboliſhed by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the Eaſt India company upon truſt, and ſold at a great diſcount for ready money. A ſcheme was propoſed for coining two or three hundred thouſand pounds of baſe money; and yet all theſe methods were far from being effectual. The Scots, therefore, ſenſible of the extremities to which he was reduced, led on an army of twenty thouſand men as far as Newcaſtle upon Tyne, to lay their grievances before their ſovereign, as they were pleaſed to term their rebellion. One of the moſt diſguſting ſtrokes in the puritanical character of the times, was this gentle language, and humble cant, in

the midſt of treaſon, and their flattery to their prince, while they were attempting to dethrone and deſtroy him.

To theſe troops, inſpired by religion, fluſhed with ſome ſlight victories obtained over ſtraggling parties of the royaliſts, and encouraged by the Engliſh themſelves, among whom they continued, the king was able only to oppoſe a ſmaller force, new levied, undiſciplined, ſeditious, and ill paid. Being, therefore, in deſpair of ſtemming the torrent, he at laſt yielded to it. He firſt ſummoned a great council of peers to York; and, as he foreſaw that they would adviſe him to call a parliament, he told them in his firſt ſpeech that he had already taken that reſolution. Having thus prepared for his misfortunes, he
Nov. 3. 1640. a ſhort time after called that long parliament, which never diſcontinued ſitting till they finally accompliſhed his ruin.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

CHARLES I. (continued.)

THE ardent expectations of men with regard to a parliament at ſuch a critical juncture, and during ſuch general diſcontents, might naturally engage the attendance of the members on their duty. The houſe of commons was never, from its firſt inſtitution, obſerved to be ſo numerous, or the aſſiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon buſineſs; and by unanimous conſent they ſtruck a blow that might be regarded as deciſive. Inſtead of granting the demanded ſubſidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's firſt miniſter, and had him arraigned before the houſe of peers for high-treaſon. Pym, a tedious, but ſenſible ſpeaker, who at firſt opened the accuſation againſt him in the houſe of commons, was ſent up to defend it at the bar of the houſe of lords; and moſt of the houſe accompanied their member on ſo agreeable an errand.

To beſtow the greateſt ſolemnity on this important trial, ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-Hall, where both houſes ſat, the one as judges, the other as accuſers. Beſide the chair of ſtate, a cloſe gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment againſt him were twenty-eight in number, the ſubſtance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of ſeveral exactions in Ireland. But though four months were employed by the managers in

framing the accuſation, yet there appears very little juſt cauſe of blame in him, ſince the ſtretches of the king's power were made before he came into authority. However, the managers for the houſe of commons pleaded againſt him with vehemence ſtronger than their reaſons, and ſummed up their arguments by inſiſting, that though each article taken ſeparately did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together, might be fairly concluded to carry conviction. This is a method of arguing frequently uſed in the Engliſh courts of juſtice even to this day: and perhaps none can be more erroneous; for almoſt every falſehood may be found to have a multiplicity of weak reaſons to ſupport it. In this tumult of aggravation and clamour, the earl himſelf, whoſe parts and wiſdom had been long reſpectable, ſtood unmoved and undaunted. He defended his cauſe with all the preſence of mind, judgment and ſagacity, that could be expected from innocence and ability. His children were placed beſide him, as he was thus defending his life, and the cauſe of his maſter. After he had, in a long and eloquent ſpeech, delivered without premeditation, confuted all the accuſations of his enemies; after he had ſhown, that during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the ſavage part of that people; after he had declared, that though his meaſures in England were harſh, he ſhowed the neceſſity by which he was driven into them, ſince his coming over; after he had clearly refuted the argument upon the accumulated force of his guilt, he thus drew to a concluſion, "But, my lords, I "have troubled you too long; longer than I "ſhould have done, but for the ſake of theſe

"dear

" dear pledges, which a ſaint in heaven has left " me."—Upon this he pauſed, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and proceeded.— " What I forfeit for myſelf is a trifle; that my " indiſcretions ſhould reach my poſterity, wounds " me to the heart.—Pardon my infirmity.— " Something I ſhould have added, but am not " able; therefore let it paſs. And now, my " lords, for myſelf; I have long been taught that " the afflictions of this life are overpaid by that " eternal weight of glory which waits the inno- " cent; and ſo, my lords, even ſo, with the ut- " moſt tranquillity, I ſubmit myſelf to your judg- " ment, whether that judgment be life or death; " not my will, but thine, O God, be done." His eloquence and innocence induced thoſe judges to pity, who were the moſt zealous to condemn him. The king himſelf went to the houſe of lords, and ſpoke for ſome time in his defence; but the ſpirit of vengeance that had been chained for eleven years, was now rouſed, and nothing but his blood could give the people ſatisfaction. He was found guilty by both houſes of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his conſent to the bill of attainder. But in the preſent commotions the conſent of the king was a thing that would very eaſily be diſpenſed with; and imminent dangers might attend his refuſal. Yet ſtill Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, heſitated, and ſeemed reluctant, trying every expedient to put off ſo dreadful a duty as that of ſigning the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at laſt ſilenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He re-

ceived a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, deſiring that his life might be made the ſacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding, that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This inſtance of noble generoſity was but ill repaid by his maſter, who complied with his requeſt. He conſented to the ſigning the fatal bill by commiſſion; Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, behaving with all that compoſed dignity of reſolution that was expected from his character. The people, taught by his death to trample upon the rights of humanity, ſoon after reſolved to ſhed blood that was ſtill more precious.

But the commons did not ſtop their impeachments here. Laud alſo, after a deliberation which did not continue half an hour, was conſidered as ſufficiently culpable to incur the ſame accuſation, and was committed to cuſtody. Finch, the lord-keeper, was alſo impeached; but he had the precaution to make his eſcape, and fly over into Holland, as did ſir Francis Wyndebank, the ſecretary, into France.

The crown being thus deprived of the ſervices of its miniſters, the commons next proceeded to attack the few privileges it ſtill poſſeſſed. During the late military operations, ſeveral powers had been exerted by the lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants of counties, who were all under the influence of the crown. Theſe were, therefore, voted *Delinquents*; a term now firſt uſed to ſignify tranſgreſſors, whoſe crimes were not as yet aſcertained by law. The ſheriffs alſo, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raiſing ſhip-money, were voted alſo to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the cuſ-

toms, who had been employed during ſo many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were ſubjected to the ſame imputation, and only purchaſed their ſafety by paying a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Every diſcretionary or arbitrary ſentence of the Star-chamber, and High-commiſſion courts, underwent a ſevere ſcrutiny; and all thoſe who had any hand in ſuch ſentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. The judges, who had declared againſt Hampden, in the trial of ſhip-money, were accuſed before the peers, and obliged to find ſecurity for their appearance. All thoſe monopolies which had been lately granted by the crown, were now annihilated by the order of the commons; and they carried their deteſtation of that grievance ſo far as to expel from their own houſe all ſuch members as had been monopoliſts or projectors.

Hitherto we have ſeen the commons in ſome meaſure the patrons of liberty and of the people; boldly oppoſing the ſtretches of illegal power, or repreſſing thoſe claims which, though founded on cuſtom, were deſtructive of freedom. Thus far their aims, their ſtruggles, were juſt and honourable: but the general paſſions of the nation were now excited; and having been once put into motion, they ſoon paſſed the line, and knew not where to ſtop. Had they been contented with reſting here, after abridging all thoſe privileges of monarchy which were capable of injuring the ſubject, and leaving it all thoſe prerogatives that could benefit, they would have been conſidered as the great benefactors of mankind, and would have left the conſtitution pretty nearly on the ſame footing on which we enjoy it at

at preſent. But they either were willing to revenge their former ſufferings, or thought that ſome terrible examples were neceſſary to deter others from attempting to enſlave their country. The horrors of a civil war were not ſufficiently attended to; and they precipitately involved the nation in calamities which they themſelves were the firſt to repent.

The whole nation was thrown into a general ferment. The harangues of the members, now firſt publiſhed and diſperſed, kept alive the horrors which were felt for the late adminiſtration. The pulpits, delivered over to the puritanical preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all the conſiderable churches, reſounded with faction and fanaticiſm. The preſs, freed from all fear or reſtraint, ſwarmed with productions, dangerous by their ſedition and calumny more than by their eloquence or ſtyle.

In this univerſal uproar againſt the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick, who had ſome years before ſuffered ſo ſeverely for their licentious abuſes, and had been committed to remote priſons, were ſet at liberty by order of the commons, and were ſeen making their triumphant entry into the capital. Baſtwick had been confined in Scilly, Burton in Jerſey, and Prynne in Guernſey; and upon landing at their reſpective places, they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous proceſſion; the roads were ſtrewed with flowers, their ſufferings were aggravated, and their perſecutors reviled. Every perſon who had been puniſhed for ſeditious libels during the foregoing adminiſtration, now recovered their liberty,

berty, and had damages given them upon thoſe who had decreed their puniſhment.

Grievances had, no doubt, and heavy ones, been endured during the laſt intermiſſion of parliament; but the very complaints againſt them now became one of the greateſt grievances. So many were offered within doors, and petitioned againſt without, that the houſe was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of its reſpective complaints. The torrent riſing to ſo dreadful and unexpected an height, deſpair ſeized all thoſe who, from intereſt or habit, were attached to monarchy; while the king himſelf ſaw, with amazement, the whole fabric of government totally overturned. "You have taken, ſaid he to the "parliament, the whole machine of govern- "ment to pieces; a practice frequent with ſkil- "ful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the wheels "from any ruſt which may have grown upon "them. The engine may be reſtored to its "former uſe and motions, provided it be fitted "up entire, ſo as not a pin be wanting." But the commons, in their preſent temper, were much better adapted to deſtroy than to fit up; and having taken the machine aſunder, they ſoon found an expeditious ſet of workmen ready to ſtep in and take the whole buſineſs off their hands.

Lait in this univerſal rage for aboliſhing the former conſtitution, the parliament fell with great juſtice on two courts, which had been erected under arbitrary kings, and had ſeldom been employed but in caſes of neceſſity. Theſe were the High-commiſſion court, and the court of Star-chamber. A bill unanimouſly paſſed the houſes to aboliſh both; and in them to anni-

hilate the principal and moſt dangerous articles in the king's prerogative. The firſt of thoſe, which was inſtituted for defending the eſtabliſhments of the church, had great power in all eccleſiaſtical matters; and the judges in that court were entirely arbitrary in whatever puniſhments, or fines, they thought proper to inflict. The Star-chamber had given force to the king's proclamations, and puniſhed ſuch as ventured to tranſgreſs them; but that being now taken away, his proclamations were of no effect, and might be oppoſed with impunity. Such were the tranſactions of this firſt ſeſſion of the long parliament; and though in ſome caſes they acted with anger, and in others with precipitation, yet their merits ſo much overbalanced their miſtakes, that they deſerve the higheſt gratitude from poſterity.

After this the parliament ſeemingly adjourned; but a committee of both houſes, a thing altogether unprecedented, was appointed to ſit during the receſs, with very ample powers, and very little leſs than thoſe of the parliament in the plenitude of its authority. Pym was appointed chairman of the lower houſe; in this, farther attempts were made for aſſuming the ſovereign executive powers, and publiſhing the ordinances of this committee as ſtatutes enacted by all the branches of the legiſlature. In the mean time the king went to pay a viſit to his ſubjects in Scotland.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, the papiſts of Ireland fancied they found a convenient opportunity of throwing off the Engliſh yoke. There was a gentleman called Roger More, who, though of a narrow fortune, was deſcended from a very ancient

ancient Iriſh family, and was very much celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity. This man firſt formed the project of expelling the Engliſh, and aſſerting the independency of his native country. The occaſion was favourable; the Engliſh, warmly engaged in domeſtic animoſities, were unable to attend to a diſtant inſurrection; and thoſe of that nation, who reſided among them, were too feeble to reſiſt. Struck with theſe motives, ſir Phelim O'Neale entered into a conſpiracy; lord Macguire came into his deſigns, and ſoon after all the chiefs of the native Iriſh promiſed their concurrence.

Their plan was laid accordingly, which was, that ſir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conſpirators, ſhould all begin an inſurrection on one day throughout the provinces; ſhould deſtroy all the Engliſh, while lord Macguire and Roger More ſhould ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin. They had fixed on the approach of winter for this revolt; the day was appointed, every thing in readineſs, the ſecret profoundly kept, and the conſpirators promiſed themſelves a certainty of ſucceſs. The earl of Leiceſter, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, was then in London. Sir William Parſons, and ſir John Borlace, the two lords juſtices, were men of mean intellects; and, without attending to the intereſts of their country, indulging themſelves in the moſt profound tranquillity on the brink of ruin.

The very day before the intended ſeizure of the caſtle of Dublin, the plot was diſcovered by one O'Conolly, an Iriſhman, but a proteſtant, to the juſtices, who fled to the caſtle, and alarmed all the proteſtant inhabitants of the city to prepare for their defence. Macguire was taken, but

but More eſcaped; and new informations being every hour added to thoſe already received, the project of a general inſurrection was no longer a ſecret.

But though the citizens of Dublin had juſt time enough to ſave themſelves from danger, the proteſtants, diſperſed over the different parts of the country, were taken unprepared. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulſter. The Iriſh, every where intermingled with the Engliſh, needed but a hint from their leaders and prieſts to maſſacre a people whom they hated for their religion, and envied for their riches and proſperity. The inſurrections of a civiliſed people are uſually marked with very little cruelty; but the revolt of a ſavage nation, generally aims at extermination. The Iriſh accordingly reſolved to cut off all the proteſtants of the kingdom at a ſtroke; ſo that neither age, ſex, nor condition, received any pity. In ſuch indiſcriminate ſlaughter, neither former benefits, nor alliances, nor authority, were any protection: numberleſs were the inſtances of friends murdering their intimates, relations their kinſmen, and ſervants their maſters. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault; deſtruction, that had an extenſive ſpread, met the hunted victims at every turn. Not only death, but ſtudied cruelties were inflicted on the unhappy ſufferers; the very avarice of the revolters could not reſtrain their thirſt for blood, and they burned the inhabitants in their own houſes, to increaſe their puniſhment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge, and from thence obliged, by theſe barbarians, to leap into the water, where they were drowned. The Engliſh colonies were totally

totally annihilated in the open country of Ulſter; but in the other provinces the rebels pretended to act with great humanity.

The proteſtants were driven there from their houſes, to meet the ſeverity of the weather, without food or raiment, and numbers of them periſhed with the cold which happened at that time to be peculiarly ſevere. By ſome computations, thoſe who periſhed by all theſe cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and fifty, or two hundred thouſand; but, by a moderate computation, they could not have been leſs than forty thouſand.

In the mean time the Engliſh Pale, as it was called, conſiſting of the old Engliſh catholics, who had firſt come over, joining with the native Iriſh, a large army was formed, amounting to above twenty thouſand men, which threatened a total extermination of the Engliſh power in that iſland. The king was at that time in Scotland, when he received the firſt accounts of this rebellion; and though he did all in his power to induce his ſubjects there to lend aſſiſtance to the proteſtant cauſe, yet he found them totally averſe to ſending any ſuccours into Ireland. Their aim was to oblige the parliament of England with what ſuccours they could ſpare, and not to obey the injunctions of their ſovereign. They went ſtill farther, and had the aſſurance to impute a part of theſe dreadful maſſacres to the king's own contrivance. In fact, the rebels of Ireland did not fail to ſhow a royal patent, authoriſing their attempts; and it is ſaid that ſir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in lord Caulfield's houſe, whom he had murdered,

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he tore off the ſeal, and affixed it to a commiſſion which he had forged for himſelf.

However this be, the king took all the precautions in his power to ſhow his utter deteſtation of theſe bloody proceedings; and being ſenſible of his own inability to ſuppreſs the rebellion, he had once more recourſe to his Engliſh parliament, and craved their aſſiſtance for a ſupply. But here he found no hopes of aſſiſtance; many inſinuations were thrown out, that he had himſelf fomented this rebellion, and no money could be ſpared for the extinction of diſtant dangers, when they pretended that the kingdom was threatened with greater at home.

It was now that the republican ſpirit began to appear without any diſguiſe in the preſent parliament; and that party, inſtead of attacking the faults of the king, reſolved to deſtroy monarchy. They had ſeen a republican ſyſtem of government lately eſtabliſhed in Holland, and attended with very noble effects; they began, therefore, to wiſh for a ſimilar ſyſtem at home, and many productions of the preſs at that time ſketched out the form. It would be unjuſt to deny theſe men the praiſe of being guided by honeſt motives; but it would be unwiſe not to ſay alſo that they were ſwayed by wrong ones. In the compariſon between a republic and a limited monarchy, the balance entirely inclines to the latter, ſince a real republic never yet exiſted, except in ſpeculation; and that liberty which demagogues promiſe to their followers, is generally only ſought after for themſelves. The aim in general of popular leaders is rather to depreſs the great than exalt the humble; and in ſuch governments, the lower ranks of people are too commonly the moſt abject ſlaves. In a republic, the number of tyrants

tants are capable of ſupporting each other in their injuſtice; while in a monarchy there is one object, who, if he offends, is eaſily puniſhable, and ought to be brought to juſtice.

The leaders of the oppoſition began their operations by a reſolution to attack epiſcopacy, which was one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks of the royal power; but previouſly framed a remonſtrance, in which they ſummed up all their former griev- A.D. 1641. ances. Theſe they aſcribed to a regular ſyſtem of tyranny in the king, and aſſerted that they amounted to a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution. This, when drawn up by a tumultuous majority of the houſe, they ordered to be printed and publiſhed, without being carried up, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to the houſe of peers, for their aſſent and approbation. The commons having thus endeavoured to render the king's adminiſtration univerſally odious, then began upon the hierarchy. Their firſt meaſure was, by their own ſingle authority, to ſuſpend all the laws which had been made for the obſervance of public worſhip. They particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jeſus. They complained of the king's filling five vacant biſhopricks; and conſidered it as an inſult upon them, that he ſhould complete and ſtrengthen an order which they were reſolved to aboliſh. They accuſed thirteen biſhops of high treaſon, for enacting canons without the conſent of parliament; and endeavoured to prevail upon the houſe of peers to exclude all the prelates from their ſeats and votes in that auguſt aſſembly. But, notwithſtanding all their efforts, the lords refuſed their concurrence to this law, and all ſuch as any way tended to the farther limitation of royal authority. The ma-

jority of the peers adhered to the king; and plainly foreſaw the depreſſion of the nobility as a neceſſary conſequence of the popular uſurpations on the crown. The commons murmured at their refuſal, mixed threats with their indignation, and began, for the firſt time, to inſinuate that the buſineſs of the ſtate could be carried on without them.

In order to intimidate the lords into their meaſures, the populace was let looſe to inſult and threaten them. Multitudes of people flocked every day towards Weſtminſter, and inſulted the prelates and ſuch lords as adhered to the crown. Some ſeditious apprentices being ſeized and committed to priſon, the houſe of commons immediately ordered them to be ſet free. Encouraged by the countenance of the houſe, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out inſolent menaces againſt the king himſelf. It was at this time that ſeveral reduced officers, and ſtudents of the inns of court, offered their ſervices to the king, to repreſs the rioters; and many frays enſued, not without bloodſhed. The rabble, by way of reproach, were called Roundheads, from the manner of wearing their hair; and the gentlemen, Cavaliers. Theſe names afterwards ſerved to diſtinguiſh the partiſans of either ſide, and ſerved ſtill more to divide the nation.

The fury of the commons, and alſo of the populace, did not fail to intimidate the biſhops: they ſaw the ſtorm that was gathering againſt them; and, probably to avert its effects, they reſolved to attend their duty in the houſe of lords no longer; but drew up a proteſt, which was ſigned by twelve of them, in which they declar-

ed, that being hindered by the populace from attending at the houſe of lords, they reſolved to go there no more till all commotions ſhould be appeaſed; proteſting, in the mean time, againſt all ſuch laws as ſhould be enacted in their abſence.

This ſeceſſion of the biſhops from the houſe of lords was what the commons moſt ardently wiſhed for; and they ſeized the opportunity with pleaſure. An impeachment of high-treaſon was immediately ſent up againſt them, as guilty of ſubverting the fundamental laws, and invalidating the legiſlative authority. In conſequence of this they were by the lords excluded from parliament, and committed to cuſtody; no man in either houſe daring to ſpeak a word in their vindication. One of the lords, indeed, was heard to ſay, that he did not believe they were guilty of treaſon, but thought they were mad, and therefore were fitter for bedlam than a ſeat in parliament.

This was a fatal blow to the royal intereſt; but it ſoon felt a much greater from the king's own imprudence. Charles had long ſuppreſſed his reſentment, and only ſtrove to ſatisfy the commons by the greatneſs of his conceſſions; but finding that all his compliance had but increaſed their demands, he could no longer contain. He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney-general, to enter an accuſation of high-treaſon in the houſe of peers againſt lord Kimbolton, one of the moſt popular men of his party, together with five commoners, ſir Arthur Hazelrig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traitorouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and govern-

ment of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impoſe on his ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at ſubverting the very rights and being of parliaments, and had actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the king. Men had ſcarce leiſure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were aſtoniſhed by another meaſure, ſtill more raſh and more unſupported. A ſerjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the houſe the five members, and was ſent back without any poſitive anſwer. This was followed by a conduct ſtill more extraordinary. The next day the king himſelf was ſeen to enter the houſe of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members ſtood up to receive him. The ſpeaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took poſſeſſion of it. Having ſeated himſelf, and looked round him for ſome time, he told the houſe that he was ſorry for the occaſion that forced him thither; that he was come in perſon to ſeize the members whom he had accuſed of high-treaſon, ſeeing they would not deliver them up to his ſerjeant at arms. Addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker, he deſired to know whether any of them were in the houſe; but the ſpeaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak in that place, but as the houſe was pleaſed to direct him; and he aſked pardon for being able to give no other anſwer. He then ſate for ſome time, to ſee if the accuſed were preſent; but they had eſcaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus diſappointed, perplexed, and not

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knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidſt the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out, "Privilege! privilege!" to the common council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common council only anſwered his complaint with a contemptuous ſilence; and on his return, one of the populace, more inſolent than the reſt, cried out, "To your tents, O Iſrael!" a watch word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons were aſſembled the next day, they affected the greateſt terror, and paſſed an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and they could not aſſemble again in the ſame place, till they ſhould have obtained ſatisfaction, with a guard for their ſecurity. They aſcribed the laſt meaſure of the king to the counſels of the papiſts; and the city was thus filled with groundleſs conſternation.

As the commons had artfully kept up their panic, in order to inflame the populace, and as the city was now only one ſcene of confuſion, the king, afraid of expoſing himſelf to any freſh inſult from the fury of the populace, retired to Windſor, overwhelmed with grief, ſhame, and remorſe. There he began to reflect on the raſhneſs of his former proceedings, and now too late reſolved to make ſome atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them that he deſiſted from his former proceedings againſt the accuſed members; and aſſured them, that upon all occaſions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to his commons, and his preſent ſubmiſſion now rendered him contemptible.

The commons had already ſtript the king of almoſt all his privileges; the biſhops were fled, the judges were intimidated; it now only remained that, after ſecuring the church and the law, they ſhould get poſſeſſion of the ſword alſo. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was ſtill a remaining prerogative of the crown. Having, therefore, firſt magnified their terrors of popery, which perhaps they actually dreaded, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portſmouth, and the fleet, ſhould be intruſted to perſons of their chuſing. Theſe were requeſts, the complying with which levelled all that remained of the ancient conſtitution: however, ſuch was the neceſſity of the times, that they were at firſt conteſted, and then granted. At laſt, every compliance only increaſing the avidity of making freſh demands, the commons deſired to have a militia raiſed, and governed by ſuch officers and commanders as they ſhould nominate, under pretext of ſecuring them from the Iriſh papiſts, of whom they were in great apprehenſions.

It was here that Charles firſt ventured to put a ſtop to his conceſſions; and that not by a refuſal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover, attending the queen, and the princeſs of Orange, who had thought it prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition of the commons, that he had not now leiſure to conſider a matter of ſuch great importance, and therefore would defer an anſwer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that, though this was depriving him even of the ſhadow of power, yet they had now gone too far to recede,

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and were therefore deſirous of leaving him no authority whatſoever, as being conſcious that themſelves would be the firſt victims to its fury. They alleged that the dangers and diſtempers of the nation were ſuch as could endure no longer delay; and unleſs the king ſpeedily complied with their demands, they ſhould be obliged, both for his ſafety and that of the kingdom, to diſpoſe of the militia by the authority of both houſes, and were reſolved to do it accordingly. In their remonſtrances to the king, they deſired even to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; which ſo exaſperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour." This peremptory refuſal broke off all further treaty; and both ſides were now reſolved to have recourſe to arms.

Charles, taking the prince of Wales with him, retired to York, where he found the people more loyal, and leſs infected with the religious phrenſy of the times. He found his cauſe there backed by a more numerous party than he had expected among the people. The queen, who was in Holland, was making ſucceſsful levies of men and ammunition, by ſelling the crown-jewels. But, before war was openly declared, the ſhadow of a negotiation was carried on, rather to ſerve as a pretence to the people, than with a real deſign of reconciliation. The king offered propoſals to the commons, which he knew they would not accept; and they in return ſubmitted nineteen propoſitions to his conſideration, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely ſubſervient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of ſtate, the governors of the king's

children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet and army, ſhould be all appointed by, and under the controul of parliament; that papiſts ſhould be puniſhed by their authority; that the church and liturgy ſhould be reformed at their diſcretion; and that ſuch members as had been diſplaced ſhould be reſtored. Theſe propoſals, which, if they had been complied with, would have moulded the government into an ariſtocracy, were, happily for poſterity, rejected by the king. "Should I grant theſe demands," ſaid he, in his reply, "I might be waited on "bare-headed; I might have my hand kiſſed, "the title of majeſty be continued to me, and "the king's authority ſignified by both houſes of "parliament might be ſtill the ſtyle of your "commands; I might have ſwords and maces "carried before me, and pleaſe myſelf with the "ſight of a crown and ſceptre (though even "theſe twigs would not long flouriſh, when the "ſtock upon which they grew was dead): but as "to true and real power, I ſhould remain but "the outſide, but the picture, but the ſign of a "king." War on any terms was, therefore, eſteemed preferable to ſuch an ignominious peace. Thus the king and his parliament mutually reproached each other for beginning a ſcene of ſlaughter, of which both were equally culpable.

CHAP. XXXI.

CHARLES I. (continued.)

NO period ſince England began could ſhow ſo many inſtances of courage, abilities, and virtue, as the preſent fatal oppoſition called forth into action. Now was the time when talents of all kinds, unchecked by authority, were called from the lower ranks of life, to diſpute for power and pre-eminence. Both ſides, equally confident of the juſtice of their cauſe, appealed to God to judge of the rectitude of their intentions. The parliament was conviced that it fought for heaven, by aſſerting its regards for a peculiar mode of worſhip; and the king was not leſs convinced that his claims were ſacred, as he had ever been taught to conſider them as of divine original. Thus paſſion and enthuſiaſm on each ſide animated the combatants; and courage rather than conduct, among theſe undiſciplined troops, decided the fortune of the day. A. D. 1642.

Never was conteſt more unequal than ſeemed at firſt between the contending parties; the king being entirely deſtitute of every advantage. His revenue had been ſeized by parliament; all the ſea-port towns were in their hands, except Newcaſtle; and thus they were poſſeſſed of the cuſtoms which theſe could ſupply; the fleet was at their diſpoſal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were ſeized for their uſe; and they had the wiſhes of all the moſt active members of the nation.

To oppoſe this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty, to give

give ſanction to his cauſe. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him, as their diſtinctions muſt riſe or fall with the ſource of honour. Moſt of the men of education alſo, and the ancient gentry, ſtill conſidered loyalty as a virtue, and armed their tenants and ſervants in his cauſe. With theſe followers and hopes he reſolved to take the field, and erected the royal ſtandard at Nottingham.

Manifeſtoes on the one ſide and the other were now diſperſed throughout the whole kingdom; and the people were univerſally divided between two factions, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king, to bind himſelf by the moſt ſolemn engagements to his people, made the following proteſtation before his whole army.

"I do promiſe, in the preſence of almighty "God, and as I hope for his bleſſing and pro- "tection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my power, "defend and maintain the true reformed proteſ- "tant religion, eſtabliſhed in the church of "England; and, by the grace of God, in the "ſame will live and die.

"I deſire that the laws may be ever the mea- "ſure of my government, and that the liberty "and property of the ſubject may be preſerved "by them with the ſame care as my own juſt "rights. And if it pleaſe God, by his bleſſing "on this army raiſed for my neceſſary defence, "to preſerve me from the preſent rebellion, I "do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the "ſight of God, to maintain the juſt privileges "and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to "the utmoſt of my power, by the known ſta- "tutes and cuſtoms of the kingdom; and par-

"ticularly

" ticularly to obſerve inviolably the laws to " which I have given my conſent this parlia- " ment. Mean while, if this emergence, and " the great neceſſity to which I am driven, beget " any violation of law, I hope it ſhall be im- " puted by God and man to the authors of this " war, not to me, who have ſo earneſtly labour- " ed to preſerve the peace of the kingdom.

" When I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I " ſhall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any " protection from above. But in this reſolution " I hope for the chearful aſſiſtance of all good " men, and am confident of the bleſſing of hea- " ven."

The ſincerity with which this ſpeech was delivered, and the juſtice of its contents, ſerved to ſtrengthen the king's cauſe. At firſt he appeared in a very low condition; beſides the train-bands of the county, raiſed by ſir John Digby, the ſheriff, he had not got together three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which compoſed his chief ſtrength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. However, he was ſoon gradually reinforced from all quarters; but not being then in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by ſlow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewſbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in thoſe quarters.

In the mean time, the parliament were not remiſs in preparations on their ſide. They had a magazine of arms at Hull, and ſir John Hotham was appointed governor of that place by parliament. Charles had ſome time before preſented himſelf before that town, but was refuſed admiſſion: and from this they drew their principal

cipal reſources. The forces alſo, which had been every where raiſed on pretence of the ſervice of Ireland, were now more openly enliſted by the parliament for their own purpoſes; and the command given to the earl of Eſſex, a bold man, who rather deſired to ſee monarchy abridged than totally deſtroyed. In London, no leſs than four thouſand men were enliſted in one day; and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to ſubſcribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were alſo iſſued out for loans of money and plate, which were to defend the king and both houſes of parliament; for they ſtill preſerved this ſtyle. This brought immenſe quantities of plate to the treaſury; and ſo great was men's ardour in the cauſe, that there was more than they could find room for. By theſe means they found themſelves in a ſhort time at the head of ſixteen thouſand men; and the earl of Eſſex led them towards Northampton againſt the king.

The army of the royaliſts was not ſo great as that of Eſſex; however it was ſuppoſed to be better diſciplined, and better conducted. The two ſons of the unfortunate elector Palatine, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, offered their ſervices to the king, and were gladly accepted. A ſlight advantage gained by prince Rupert over colonel Sandys, in the beginning, gave great hopes of his future activity, and inſpired the army with reſolution to hazard a battle. So little were both armies ſkilled in the arts and ſtratagems of war, that they were within ſix miles of each other before they were acquainted with their mutual approach; and, what is remarkable,

able, they had been ten days within twenty miles of each other, without knowing it.

Edge-Hill was the firſt place where the two armies were put in array againſt each other, and the country firſt drenched in civil ſlaughter. It was a dreadful ſight, to ſee above thirty thouſand of the braveſt men in the world, inſtead of employing their courage abroad, turning it againſt each other, while the deareſt friends, and the neareſt kinſmen, embraced oppoſite ſides, and prepared to bury their private regards in factious hatred. In the beginning of this engagement, ſir Faithful Forteſcue, who had levied a troop for the Iriſh war, but had been obliged to ſerve in the parliamentary army, deſerted to the royaliſts, and ſo intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed their example; but the victors too eagerly purſuing, Eſſex's body of reſerve wheeled upon the rear of the purſuers, and made great havock among them. After the royaliſts had a little recovered from their ſurpriſe, they made a vigorous ſtand; and both ſides for a time ſtood gazing at each other, without ſufficient courage to renew the attack. They all night lay under arms, and next morning found themſelves in ſight of each other: this had been the time for the king to have ſtruck a deciſive blow: he loſt the opportunity; and both ſides ſeparated with equal loſs. Five thouſand men are ſaid to have been found dead on the field of battle.

It would be tedious, and no way inſtructive, to enter into the marchings and countermarchings of theſe undiſciplined and ill-conducted armies: war was a new trade to the Engliſh, as they

they had not ſeen an hoſtile engagement in the iſland for near a century before. The queen came to re-inforce the royal party; ſhe had brought ſoldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to furniſh more. But the parliament, who knew its own ſtrength, was no way diſcouraged. Their demands ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to their loſſes; and as they were repreſſed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. Such governors as gave up their fortreſſes to the king, were attainted of high-treaſon. It was in vain for the king to ſend propoſals after any ſucceſs; this only raiſed their pride and their animoſity. But though this deſire in the king to make peace with his ſubjects was the higheſt encomium on his humanity, yet his long negotiations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He waſted that time in altercation and treaty, which he ſhould have employed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, this firſt campaign, upon the whole, wore a favourable aſpect. One victory followed after another: Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king: a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Stratton-Hill, in Devonſhire; another at Roundaway-Down, about two miles from the Devizes; and a third in Chalgrave Field. Briſtol was beſieged and taken; and Glouceſter was beſieged; the battle of Newbury was favourable to the royal cauſe; and great hopes of ſucceſs were formed from an army in the North, raiſed by the marquis of Newcaſtle.

But in this campaign, the two braveſt and greateſt men of their reſpective parties were killed;

killed; as if it was intended, by the kindneſs of Providence, that they ſhould be exempted from ſeeing the miſeries and the ſlaughter which were ſhortly to enſue. Theſe were John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, lord Faulkland.

In an incurſion made by prince Rupert to within about two miles of the enemy's quarters, a great booty was obtained. This the parliamentarians attempted to reſcue; and Hampden, at their head, overtook the royaliſts in Chalgrave Field. As he ever was the firſt to enter into the thickeſt of the battle, he was ſhot in the ſhoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after he died in great pain; nor could his whole party, had their army met a total overthrow, have been caſt into greater conſternation. Even Charles his enemy felt for his diſaſter, and offered his own ſurgeon to aſſiſt his cure. Hampden, whom we have ſeen, in the beginning of theſe troubles, refuſe to pay ſhip-money, gained, by his inflexible integrity, the eſteem even of his enemies. To theſe he added affability in converſation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in council.

But Faulkland was ſtill a greater loſs, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's ſevere principles, a politeneſs and elegance but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withſtood the king's pretenſions, while he ſaw him making a bad uſe of his power; but when he perceived the deſign of the parliament to overturn the religion and the conſtitution of his country, he changed his ſide, and ſtedfaſtly attached himſelf to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural chear-

chearfulneſs and vivacity forſook him; he became melancholy, ſad, pale, and negligent of his perſon. When the two armies were in ſight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared deſirous of terminating his life, ſince he could not compoſe the miſeries of his country. Still anxious for his country alone, he dreaded the too proſperous ſucceſs of his own party, as much as that of the enemy; and he profeſſed that its miſeries had broken his heart. His uſual cry among his friends, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, was "Peace! Peace!" He now ſaid, upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and ſhould leave them before night. He was ſhot by a muſket-ball in the belly; and his body was next morning found among a heap of ſlain. His writings, his elegance, his juſtice, and his courage, deſerved ſuch a death of glory: and they found it.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the enſuing campaign, and to oppoſe the deſigns of the Weſtminſter parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the firſt time that England ſaw two parliaments ſitting at the ſame time. His houſe of peers was pretty full; his houſe of commons conſiſted of about an hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other houſe of commons. From this ſhadow of a parliament he received ſome ſupplies; after which it was prorogued, and never after aſſembled.

In the mean time the parliament were equally active on their ſide. They paſſed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week, and

and to pay the value of it for the ſupport of the public cauſe. But what was much more effectual, the Scots, who conſidered their claims as ſimilar, led a ſtrong army to their aſſiſtance. They levied an army of fourteen thouſand men in the eaſt, under the earl of Mancheſter; they had an army of ten thouſand men under Eſſex, and another of nearly the ſame force under ſir William Waller. Theſe were ſuperior to any force the king could bring into the field, and were well appointed with ammunition, proviſions, and pay.

Hoſtilities, which even during the winter- A.D. 1644.
ſeaſon had never been wholly diſcontinued, were renewed in ſpring with their uſual fury, and ſerved to deſolate the kingdom, without deciding victory. Each county joined that ſide to which it was addicted from motives of conviction, intereſt, or fear, though ſome obſerved a perfect neutrality. Several frequently petitioned for peace; and all the wiſe and good were earneſt in the cry. What particularly deſerves remark, was an attempt of the women of London, who, to the number of two or three thouſand, went in a body to the houſe of commons, earneſtly demanding a peace. "Give us thoſe "traitors," ſaid they, "that are againſt a peace; "give them, that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found ſome difficulty in quelling this inſurrection, and one or two women loſt their lives in the fray.

The battle of Marſton-Moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes and diſgrace. The Scotch and parliamentarian army had joined, and were beſieging York, when prince Rupert, joined by the marquis of Newcaſtle, de-

termined to raiſe the ſiege. Both ſides drew up on Marſton-Moor, to the number of fifty thouſand, and the victory ſeemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royaliſts, was oppoſed by Oliver Cromwell, who now firſt came into notice, at the head of a body of troops whom he had taken care to levy and diſcipline. Cromwell was victorious; he puſhed his opponents off the field, followed the vanquiſhed, returned to a ſecond engagement, and a ſecond victory; the prince's whole train of artillery was taken; and the royaliſts never after recovered the blow.

While the king was unfortunate in the field, he was not more ſucceſsful in negotiation. A treaty was begun at Uxbridge, which, like all others, came to nothing. The puritans demanded a total abolition of the epiſcopacy and all church-ceremonies; and this Charles, from conviction, from intereſt, and perſuaſion, was not willing to permit. He had all along adhered to the epiſcopal juriſdiction, not only becauſe it was favourable to monarchy, but becauſe all his adherents were paſſionately devoted to it. He eſteemed biſhops as eſſential to the Chriſtian church; and thought himſelf bound, not only by temporal but ſacred ties, to defend them. The parliament was as obſtinately bent upon removing this order; and, to ſhow their reſolution, began with the foremoſt of the number.

William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as we have already ſeen, had been impriſoned in the Tower at the ſame time with Strafford: and he had patiently endured ſo long a confinement, without being brought to any trial. He was now, therefore, accuſed of high treaſon in endeavouring

deavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and miſdemeanors. The groundleſs charge of popery, which his life and afterwards his death belied, was urged againſt him. In his defence, he ſpoke ſeveral hours, with that courage which ſeems the reſult of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him; but the commons, his accuſers, finding how his trial was likely to go, paſſed an ordinance for his execution, and terrified the lords who continued obſtinate, to give their conſent. Seven peers alone voted in this important queſtion; all the reſt, either from ſhame or fear, did not appear. When brought to the ſcaffold, this venerable prelate, without any terror, but in the uſual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made the people a long ſpeech. He told them that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found no ſins there which deſerved the death he was going to ſuffer. The king, he ſaid, had been traduced by ſome, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as ſound a proteſtant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, though he diſliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never deſigned to change the laws of his country, or the proteſtant religion. After he had prayed for a few minutes, the executioner ſevered his head at a blow. It is indeed a melancholy conſideration, that in theſe times of trouble, the beſt men were thoſe on either ſide who chiefly ſuffered.

The death of Laud was followed by a total alteration of the ceremonies of the church. The Liturgy was, by a public act, aboliſhed the day he died, as if he had been the only ob-

ſtacle to its formal removal. The church of England was in all reſpects brought to a conformity to the puritanical eſtabliſhment; while the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for ſo happy an alteration.

The total abolition of the reformed religion, as eſtabliſhed by queen Elizabeth, ſeemed at firſt to promiſe vigour and conſiſtence to the counſels of the parliamentarians. But ſuch is the nature of man, that if he does not find, he makes oppoſition. From the moment the puritans began to be apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of Preſbyterians, they began again to divide into freſh parties, each profeſſing different views and intereſts. One part of the houſe was compoſed of Preſbyterians, ſtrictly ſo called; the other, though a minority, of Independents, a new ſect that had lately been introduced, and gained ground ſurpriſingly.

The difference between theſe two ſects would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, as we have ſeen, had appointed biſhops of clerical ordination, and a book of common-prayer. The preſbyterians exclaimed againſt both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents went ſtill farther; they excluded all the clergy; they maintained that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the ſcriptures. Their political ſyſtem kept pace with their religious. Not contented with reducing the king to a firſt magiſtrate, which was the aim of the preſbyterians, this ſect aſpired at

the abolition not only of all monarchy, but of all ſubordination. They maintained, and they maintained right, that all men were born equal; but they alleged alſo, that no accidental or artificial inſtitutions could deſtroy this equality; and there they were deceived. Could ſuch a plan of government as theirs be practicable, it would no doubt be the moſt happy; but the wiſe and induſtrious muſt in every country prevail over the weak and idle; and the bad ſucceſs of the independent ſcheme ſoon after ſhowed how ill adapted ſuch ſpeculative ideas were to human infirmity. Poſſeſſed, however, with an high idea of their own rectitude both in religion and politics, they gave way to a ſurly pride, which is ever the reſult of narrow manners and ſolitary thinking.

Theſe were a body of men that were now growing into conſideration; their apparent ſanctity, their natural courage excited by enthuſiaſm, and their unceaſing perſeverance, began to work conſiderable effects; and, though they were outnumbered in the houſe of commons, which was compoſed of more enlightened minds, they formed a majority in the army, made up chiefly of the loweſt of the vulgar.

The royaliſts endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticiſm, without being ſenſible how much reaſon they had to apprehend its dangerous conſequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties; and licence among them, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had riſen to a dangerous height, rendering them as formidable to their friends as their enemies. To increaſe this unpopularity, the king, finding the parliament of Scotland as

well as that of England delaring againſt him, thought proper to make a truce with the papiſts of Ireland, in order to bring over the Engliſh forces who ſerved in that kingdom. With theſe troops he alſo received ſome of the native Iriſh into his ſervice, who ſtill retained their fierceneſs and their barbarity. This gave the parliament a plauſible opportunity of upbraiding him with taking papiſts into his ſervice, and gave a colour to the ancient calumny of his having excited them to rebel. Unfortunately, too ſoon after, it was found that they rather increaſed the hatred of his ſubjects than added to the ſtrength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliament army; and though they threw down their arms, they were ſlaughtered without mercy. It is ſaid that ſeveral women were found among the ſlain, who with long knives had done conſiderable execution; but the animoſity of the Engliſh againſt theſe wretches at that time might have given riſe to the report.

Theſe misfortunes were ſoon after ſucceeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himſelf at the head of a turbulent ſeditious army, who, from wanting pay, were ſcarcely ſubject to cont oul; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well ſupplied and paid, and held together from principle. The parliament, to give them an example of diſintereſtedneſs in their own conduct, paſſed an act, called the *ſelf-denying ordinance*, which deſerved all commendation. They reſolved, leſt it ſhould be ſuggeſted by the nation that their intent was to make themſelves maſters, that no member of their houſe ſhould have a command

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in the army. The former generals were therefore changed; the earls of Eſſex, Denbigh, and Mancheſter gave up their commiſſions; and Fairfax, who was now appointed general with Cromwell, who found means to keep at once his ſeat and his commiſſion, new modelled the army. This, which might at firſt have ſeemed to weaken their forces, gave them new ſpirit; and the ſoldiers, become more confident in their new commanders, were irreſiſtible.

Never was a more ſingular army aſſembled than that which now drew the ſword in the parliamentary cauſe. The officers exerciſed the office of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, inſtructed their troops by ſermons, prayers, and exhortations. Rapturous ecſtaſies ſupplied the place of ſtudy and reflection; and while they kindled as they ſpoke, they aſcribed their own warmth to a deſcent of the ſpirit from heaven. The private ſoldiers, ſeized with the ſame ſpirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in peruſing the holy ſcriptures, in ghoſtly conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation, mixed their notes with thoſe of the trumpet. An army thus actuated became invincible.

The well-diſputed battle which decided the fate of Charles, was fought at Naſeby, a village in Yorkſhire. The main body of the royal army was commanded by lord Aſtley; prince Rupert led the right wing, ſir Marmaduke Langdale the left; and the king himſelf headed the body of reſerve. On the oppoſite ſide, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his ſon-in-law, the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with

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with his uſual impetuoſity and ſucceſs: they were broken and purſued as far as the village; but he loſt time in attempting to make himſelf maſter of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally ſucceſsful on his ſide, and broke through the enemies' horſe after a very obſtinate reſiſtance. While theſe were thus engaged, the infantry on both ſides maintained the conflict with equal ardour; and, in ſpite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. But it was now that Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with ſuch vigour, that a total rout began to enſue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king and the ſmall body of reſerve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be brought to a ſecond charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable; but they were now intimidated; for the parliamentarians having recovered from the firſt ſhock, ſtood ready in order of battle to receive them. The king was deſirous of charging them at the head of his reſerve; but the earl of Carnwath, who rode by his majeſty's ſide, ſeizing the bridle of his horſe, turned him round, ſaying, with a loud oath, "Will you go upon "your death in an inſtant?" The troops ſeeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in ſuch confuſion, that they could not be rallied again during the reſt of the day. The king, perceiving the battle wholly loſt, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thouſand priſoners.

This fatal blow the king never after recovered; his army was diſperſed, and the conquerors made

made as many captives as they thought proper. Among the other ſpoils taken on this occaſion, the king's cabinet of letters was ſeized, in which was contained all his private correſpondence with the queen. Theſe were ſhortly after publiſhed by the command of the parliament, who took a vulgar and brutal pleaſure in ridiculing all thoſe tender effuſions which were never drawn up for the public eye.

The battle of Naſeby put the parliamentarians in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the ſtrong cities of the kingdom, Briſtol, Bridgwater, Cheſter, Sherborn, and Bath. Exeter was beſieged; and all the king's troops in the weſtern counties being entirely diſperſed, Fairfax preſſed the place, and it ſurrendered at diſcretion. The king's intereſts ſeemed going to ruin on every quarter. The Scottiſh army, which, as has been ſaid, took part with the parliament, having made themſelves maſters of Carliſle after an obſtinate ſiege, marched ſouth, and laid ſiege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, a thouſand of his men made priſoners, and five hundred ſlain. Thus ſurrounded, haraſſed on every ſide, he retreated to Oxford, that in all conditions of his fortune had held ſteady to his cauſe; and there he reſolved to offer new terms to his victorious purſuers.

Nothing could be more affecting than the king's ſituation during his abode at Oxford. Saddened by his late melancholy diſaſters, impreſſed with the apprehenſions of ſuch as hung over him, haraſſed by the murmurs of thoſe who had followed his cauſe, and ſtung with ſorrow for his incapa-

incapacity to relieve them, he now was willing to grant the parliament their own terms, and at any rate to procure a reconciliation. He therefore ſent them repeated meſſages to this purpoſe; but they never deigned to make him the leaſt reply. At laſt, after reproaching him with the blood ſpilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing ſome bills, to which if he would conſent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations.

In the mean time Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper meaſures for laying ſiege to Oxford, which promiſed an eaſy ſurrender. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his inſolent ſubjects, was what Charles juſtly abhorred; and every inſult and violence was to be dreaded from the ſoldiery, who had felt the effects of his oppoſition. In this deſperate extremity he embraced a meaſure which, in any other ſituation, might juſtly lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiſcretion. He reſolved to give himſelf up to the Scots army, who had never teſtified ſuch implacable animoſity againſt him, and to truſt to their loyalty for the reſt.

That he might the better conceal his deſign from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city for allowing three perſons to paſs. In the night, the king, accompanied by one doctor Hudſon, and Mr. Aſhburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Aſhburnham's ſervant. He, in fact, came ſo near London, that he once entertained ſome thoughts of entering that city, and of throwing himſelf on the mercy of the parliament. At laſt, after paſſing through many croſs-roads and by-

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ways, he arrived at the Scots camp before Newark, and diſcovered himſelf to lord Leven, the Scots general. Jan. 30. 1646.

The Scots, who had before given him ſome general aſſurances of their fidelity and protection, now ſeemed greatly ſurpriſed at his arrival among them. Inſtead of beſtowing a thought on his intereſts, they inſtantly entered into a conſultation upon their own. The commiſſioners of their army ſent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament; and declared that his coming was altogether uninvited and unexpected. In the mean time they prevailed upon the king to give directions for ſurrendering all his garriſons to the parliament, with which he complied. In return for this condeſcenſion, they treated him with very long ſermons among the eccleſiaſtics, and with the moſt cautious reſerve, but very different from reſpect, among the officers. The preachers of the party indeed inſulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his miſconduct, ordered that pſalm to be ſung, which begins,

"Why doſt thou, tyrant, boaſt thyſelf,
Thy wicked deeds to praiſe?"

The king ſtood up, and called for that pſalm which begins with theſe words,

"Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray:
For men would me devour."

The audience accordingly ſung this pſalm in compaſſion to majeſty in diſtreſs.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scots about delivering up their priſoner. The Scots had, from their firſt entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament, in

in order to prevent their plundering the country; much of this, however, remained unpaid, from the unavoidable neceſſities of the times; and much more was claimed by the Scots than was really due. Nevertheleſs, they now ſaw this a convenient time for inſiſting on their arrears; and they reſolved to make the king the inſtrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and inſiſted upon many punctilios, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thouſand pounds, they would deliver up the king to his enemies: and this was chearfully complied with. An action ſo atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended; they returned home, laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

From this period to the deſpotic government of Cromwell, the conſtitution was convulſed with all the agitations of faction, guilt, ignorance, and enthuſiaſm. The kingly power being laid low, the parliament attempted to aſſume the rein; but they were ſoon to ſubmit in turn to the military power, which, like all democracies, was turbulent, tranſient, feeble, and bloody.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

CHARLES I. (continued.)

THE king being delivered over by the Scots to the parliamentary commiſſioners, he was conducted under a guard to Holmby Caſtle, in Northamptonſhire. They treated him in confinement with the moſt rigorous ſeverity, diſmiſſing all his ancient ſervants, debarring him from all viſits, and cutting of all communication with his friends and family.

The civil war was now over; the king had abſolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear, except thoſe very troops by which they had extended their overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminiſhed, the diviſions between the independents and the preſbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the houſe were of the preſbyterian ſect; but the majority of the army were ſtaunch independents. At the head of this ſect was Cromwell, who ſecretly directed its operations, and invigorated all their meaſures.

Oliver Cromwell, whoſe talents now began to appear in full luſtre, was the ſon of a private gentleman of Huntingdon; but being the ſon of a ſecond brother, he inherited a very ſmall paternal fortune. He had been ſent to Cambridge; but his inclinations not at that time turning to the calm occupations of elegant literature, he was remarkable only for the profligacy of his conduct, and the waſting his paternal fortune.

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It was, perhaps, his poverty that induced him to fall into the oppoſite extreme ſhortly after; for, from being one of the moſt debauched men in the kingdom, he became the moſt rigid and abſtemious. The ſame vehemence of temper, which had tranſported him into the extremes of pleaſure, now diſtinguiſhed his religious habits. He endeavoured to improve his ſhattered fortunes by agriculture; but this expedient ſerved only to plunge him in further difficulties. He was even determined to go over and ſettle in New-England; but was hindered by the king's ordinance to the contrary. From accident or intrigue, he was choſen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; but he ſeemed at firſt to poſſeſs no talents for oratory, his perſon being ungraceful, his dreſs ſlovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obſcure, and embarraſſed. He made up, however, by zeal and perſeverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unſhaken intrepidity, much diſſimulation, and a thorough conviction of the rectitude of his cauſe, he roſe, through the gradations of preferment, to the poſt of lieutenant-general under Fairfax; but, in reality, poſſeſſing the ſupreme command over the whole army.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the preſbyterian party, ſeeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diſmiſſing a conſiderable part of the army, and ſending the reſt to Ireland. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that for every reaſon the army were as unwilling to diſband as to be led over into a country as yet uncivilized, uncultivated, and barbarous. Cromwell took care to inſpire them with a horror of either;

either; they loved him for his bravery and religious zeal, and ſtill more for his ſeeming affection to them. Inſtead, therefore, of preparing to diſband, they reſolved to petition; and they began by deſiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. This the commons, in turn, treated with great ſeverity; they voted, that this petition tended to introduce munity, to put conditions upon the parliament, to obſtruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of it as enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of the public peace.

The army now began to conſider themſelves as a body diſtinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had ſecured the general tranquillity, while they were, at the ſame time, deprived of the privileges of Engliſhmen. In oppoſition, therefore, to the parliament at Weſtminſter, a military parliament was formed, compoſed of the officers and common ſoldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to repreſent the body of peers; the ſoldiers elected two men out of each company to repreſent the houſe of commons; and theſe were called the Agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived an eaſy method under-hand of conducting and promoting the ſedition of the army.

This fierce aſſembly, having debated for a very ſhort time, declared that they found many grievances to be redreſſed; and began by ſpecifying ſuch as they deſired to be moſt ſpeedily removed. The very ſame conduct which had formerly been uſed with ſucceſs by the parliament

ment againſt their ſovereign, was now put in practice by the army againſt the parliament. As the commons granted every requeſt, the agitators roſe in their demands; theſe accuſed the army of mutiny and ſedition; the army retorted the charge, and alleged, that the king had been depoſed only to make way for their uſurpations.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a priſoner at Holmby Caſtle; and as his countenance might add ſome authority to that ſide which ſhould obtain it, Cromwell, who ſecretly conducted all the meaſures of the army while he apparently exclaimed againſt their violence, reſolved to ſeize the king's perſon. Accordingly a party of five hundred horſe appeared at Holmby Caſtle, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a tailor, but who, in the preſent confuſion of all ranks and orders, was advanced to the rank of cornet. Without any oppoſition he entered the king's apartment, armed with piſtols, and told him that he muſt prepare and go with him. "Whither?" ſaid the king. "To the army," replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" aſked the king. "Joyce pointed to his followers. "Your warrant," replied Charles, "is wrote in fair characters." And then, without further delay he went into his coach, and was ſafely conducted to the army, who were haſtening to their rendezvous at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was inſtantly inveſted with the ſupreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a ſet- deſign in the army to preſcribe laws to their oyers; and they did not fail to ſpread the alarm

alarm through the city. But it was too late to reſiſt; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's; ſo that the commons now began to think of temporiſing. The declaration, by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the ſtate, was recalled, and eraſed from their journal-book. But all ſubmiſſion was become vain; the army ſtill roſe in their demands, in proportion as thoſe demands were gratified, until at laſt they entirely threw off the maſk, and claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and ſettling the nation.

But as too precipitate an aſſumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accuſing eleven members of the houſe as guilty of high treaſon, and enemies to the army. The members accuſed were the leaders of the preſbyterian party, the very men who had preſcribed ſuch rigorous meaſures to the king, and now, in their turn were threatened with popular reſentment. As they were the leading men in the houſe, the commons were willing to protect them; but the army inſiſting on their diſmiſſion, they voluntarily left the houſe rather than be compelled to withdraw.

At laſt the citizens of London, who had been ever foremoſt in ſedition, began to open their eyes, and to perceive that the conſtitution was totally overturned. They ſaw an oppreſſive parliament now ſubjected to a more oppreſſive army, they found their religion aboliſhed, their king a captive, and no hopes of redreſs but from another ſcene of ſlaughter. In this exigence therefore the common-council aſſembled the militia of

the city-gates were manned, and a manifeſto published, aggravating the hoſtile intentions of the army. Finding that the houſe of commons, in compliance with the requeſt of the army, had voted that the city militia ſhould be diſbanded, the multitude roſe, beſieged the door of the houſe, and obliged them to reverſe that vote which they had paſſed ſo lately.

In this manner was this wretched houſe intimidated on either ſide, obliged at one time to obey the army, at another, to comply with the clamours of the city rabble. This aſſembly was, in conſequence, divided into parties, as uſual; one part ſiding with the ſeditious citizens, while the minority, with the two ſpeakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In ſuch an univerſal confuſion, it is not to be expected that any thing leſs than a ſeparation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two ſpeakers, with ſixty-two members, ſecretly retired from the houſe, and threw themſelves under the protection of the army, that were then at Hounſlow-heath. They were received with ſhouts and acclamations; their integrity was extolled, and the whole body of the ſoldiery, a formidable force of twenty thouſand men, now moved forward to re-inſtate them in their former ſeats and ſtations.

In the mean time, that part of the houſe that was left behind, reſolved to act with vigour, and reſiſt the encroachments of the army. They choſe new ſpeakers, they gave orders for enliſting troops; they ordered the trainbands to man the lines, and the whole city boldly reſolved to reſiſt the invaſion. But this reſolution only held [illegible] the enemy was thought at a diſtance, for when

when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and ſubmiſſion; the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two ſpeakers, and the reſt of the members, peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accuſed as cauſes of the tumult, were expelled, and moſt of them retired to the continent. The mayor, ſheriff, and three aldermen, were ſent to the Tower; ſeveral citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to priſon, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having diſobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to diſpoſe of the king, who had been ſent by the army, a priſoner to Hampton-Court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand, and the preſbyterians in the name of either houſe, on the other hand, treated ſeparately with him in private. He had at one time even hopes, that in theſe ſtruggles for power, he might have been choſen mediator in the diſpute; and he expected that the kingdom, at laſt ſenſible of the miſeries of anarchy, would, like a froward child, huſhed with its own importunities, ſettle into its former tranquil conſtitution. However, in all his miſeries and doubts, though at firſt led about with the army, and afterwards kept a priſoner by them at Hampton, ſuch was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance and behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, he ſtill ſupported the dignity of a monarch;

narch; and he never one moment ſunk from the conſciouſneſs of his own ſuperiority.

It is true, that at firſt he was treated with ſome flattering marks of diſtinction; he was permitted to converſe with his old ſervants, his chaplains were admitted to attend him, and celebrate divine ſervice their own way. But the moſt exquiſite pleaſure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had ſeveral interviews. The meeting on theſe occaſions was ſo pathetic, that Cromwell himſelf, who was once preſent, could not help being moved; he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld ſuch an affecting ſcene before, and we muſt do juſtice to this man's feelings, as he was himſelf a tender father.

But thoſe flattering inſtances of reſpect and ſubmiſſion were of no long continuance. As ſoon as the army had gained a complete victory over the houſe of commons, the independents began to abate of their expreſſions of duty and reſpect The king, therefore, was now more ſtrictly guarded: they would hardly allow his domeſtics to converſe with him in private, and ſpies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with falſe dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his perſonal ſafety. The ſpies and creatures of that cunning man were ſedulouſly employed in raiſing the king's terrors, and repreſenting to him the danger of his ſituation. Theſe at length prevailed, and Charles reſolved to withdraw himſelf from the army. Cromwell conſidered, that if he ſhould eſcape the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition,

ambition; if he ſhould be apprehended, the late attempt would aggravate his guilt, and apologiſe for any ſucceeding ſeverity.

Early in the evening the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indiſpoſed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the back-ſtairs, attended by Aſhburnham and Leg, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horſes, which they inſtantly mounted, and travelling through the Foreſt all night, arrived at Tichfield, the ſeat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone towards the ſhore, and expreſſed great anxiety that a ſhip, which Aſhburnham had promiſed to be in readineſs, was not to be ſeen. At Tichfield he deliberated with his friends, upon his next excurſion, and they adviſed him to croſs over to the Iſle of Wight, where Hammond was governor, who, though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of one doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauſpicious protector it was reſolved to have recourſe; Aſhburnham and Berkeley were ſent before to exact a promiſe from this officer, that if he would not protect the king, he would not detain him. Hammond ſeemed ſurpriſed at their demand; expreſſed his inclination to ſerve his majeſty, but at the ſame time alleged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Tichfield, with a guard of ſoldiers, and ſtaid in a lower apartment while Aſhburham went up to the king's chamber. Charles, no ſooner underſtood that Hammond was in the houſe with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou haſt undone me!" Aſhburnham ſhed a flood of tears,

and offered to go down and diſpatch the governor, but the king repreſſed his ardour. When Hammond came into his preſence, he repeated his profeſſions of regard; Charles ſubmitted to his fate; and, without further delay, attended him to Cariſbrook caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, where he at firſt found himſelf treated with marks of duty and reſpect.

While the king continued in this forlorn ſituation, the parliament, new modelled as it was by the army, was every day growing more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was ſtrengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repreſs any tendency to factious diviſion among them. Nor were his fears without juſt cauſe; for had it not been for the quickneſs of his penetration, and the boldneſs of his activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a ſtate of ungovernable phrenſy.

Among the independents, who, in general, were for having no eccleſiaſtical ſubordination, a ſet of men grew up called *Levellers*, who diſallowed all ſubordination whatſoever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Chriſt. They declared that all men were equal; that all degrees and ranks ſhould be levelled, and an exact partition of property eſtabliſhed in the nation. This ferment ſpread through the army; and as it was a doctrine well ſuited to the poverty of the daring ſoldiery, it promiſed every day to become more dangerous and fatal. Several petitions were preſented, urging the juſtice of a partition, and threatening vengeance in caſe of refuſing redreſs.

Cromwell now ſaw that he was upon the point of loſing all the fruits of his former ſchemes and dangers,

dangers, and dreaded this new faction ſtill more, as they turned his own pretended principles againſt himſelf. Thus finding all at ſtake, he reſolved, by one reſolute blow, to diſperſe the faction, or periſh in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the terrified aſſembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what theſe meetings and murmurings meant; he expoſtulated with them upon the danger and conſequence of their precipitate ſchemes, and deſired them immediately to depart. But inſtead of obeying, they returned an inſolent anſwer; wherefore, ruſhing on them in a fury, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards diſperſing the reſt, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be hanged upon the ſpot; he ſent others priſoners to London; and thus diſſipated a faction, no otherwiſe criminal than in having followed his own example.

This action ſerved ſtill more to increaſe the power of Cromwell in the camp and in the parliament, and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, he was inveſted with all the power. But his authority ſoon became irreſiſtible, in conſequence of a new and unexpected addition of his ſucceſſes. The Scots, perhaps, aſhamed of the reproach of having ſold their king, and ſtimulated farther by the independents, who took all occaſions to mortify them, raiſed an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the duke of Hamilton; while Langdale, who profeſſed himſelf at the head of the more bigoted party, who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his ſepa-

rate body, and both invaded the North of England. Their two armies amounted to about twenty thouſand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thouſand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle; he attacked them one after the other, routed and diſperſed them, took Hamilton priſoner, and following his blow, entered Scotland, where he ſettled the government entirely to his ſatisfaction. An inſurrection in Kent was quelled by Fairfax at the ſame time with the ſame eaſe; and nothing but ſucceſs attended all this bold uſurper's criminal attempts.

During theſe contentions, the king, who was kept a priſoner at Cariſbrook, continued to negotiate with the parliament for ſettling the unſpeakable calamities of the kingdom. The parliament ſaw no other method of deſtroying military power, but to depreſs it by the kingly. Frequent propoſals for an accommodation paſſed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obſtacle which had all along ſtood in the way, ſtill kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refuſing to aboliſh epiſcopacy, though he conſented to deſtroy the liturgy of the church. However, the treaty was ſtill carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the deſigns of their generals than from the attempts of the king; and, for the firſt time, they ſeemed in earneſt to conclude their negotiations.

But all was now too late; their power was ſoon totally to expire, for the rebellious army, crowned with ſucceſs, was returned from the deſtruction of their enemies, and, ſenſible of their own power, with furious remonſtrances began

gan to demand vengeance on the king. At the ſame time they advanced to Windſor; and ſending an officer to ſeize the king's perſon, where he was lately ſent under confinement, they conveyed him to Hurſt-caſtle, in Hampſhire, oppoſite the Iſle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this harſh proceedings, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to iſſue ordinances for a more effectual oppoſition; they received a meſſage from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a viſit the next day with his army, and, in the mean time, ordered them to raiſe him forty thouſand pounds upon the city of London.

The commons, however, though deſtitute of all hopes of prevailing, had ſtill courage to reſiſt, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to cloſe their treaty with the king They had taken into conſideration the whole of his conceſſions; and though they had formerly voted them unſatisfactory, they now renewed the conſultation with freſh vigour. After a violent debate, which had laſted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by a majority of a hundred and twenty-nine againſt eighty-three, that his conceſſions were a foundation for the houſes to proceed upon, in the ſettlement of the kingdom. This was the laſt attempt in his favour; for the next day colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the houſe, and ſeized in the paſſage forty-one members of the preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room belonging to the houſe, that paſſed by the denomination of Hell. Above a hundred and ſixty members more were excluded: and none were allowed

allowed to enter but the moſt furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding ſixty. This atrocious invaſion of the parliamentary rights, commonly paſſed by the name of Pride's purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. Theſe ſoon voted, that the tranſactions of the houſe a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was juſt and neceſſary.

Nothing now remained, after the conſtitution had been deſtroyed, after the parliament had been ejected, after the religion of the country had been aboliſhed, after the braveſt and the beſt of its ſubjects had been ſlain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deſerves the name, was compoſed of a medley of the moſt obſcure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this aſſembly, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge againſt the king; and on their report, a vote paſſed, declaring it treaſon in a king to levy war againſt his parliament. It was, therefore, reſolved that an High Court of Juſtice ſhould be appointed to try his majeſty for this new invented treaſon. For form ſake they deſired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other houſe; but here there was virtue enough left unanimouſly to reject the horrid propoſal.

But the commons were not to be ſtopped by ſo ſmall an obſtacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the houſe of lords was unneceſſary; they voted that the people were the origin of all juſt power, a fact which, though true, they never could bring home to themſelves. To add to their zeal, a woman of Hertfordſhire, illuminated by prophetical viſions, deſired admittance,

tance, and communicated a revelation which ſhe had received from heaven. She aſſured them that their meaſures were conſecrated from above, and ratified by the ſanction of the Holy Ghoſt. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their preſent reſolutions.

Colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurſt-caſtle to Windſor, and from thence to London. His afflicted ſubjects, who ran to have a ſight of their ſovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and perſon. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the preſſure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the reſt of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he ſtood a ſolitary figure of majeſty in diſtreſs, which even his adverſaries could not behold without reverence and compaſſion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepid ſervant, whoſe name was ſir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his maſter's fate, without being able to revenge his cauſe. All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to ſerve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reſerved for the ſame puniſhment with his maſter, having leave to take a laſt farewell as he departed from Windſor, threw himſelf at the king's feet, crying out, "My dear maſter." The unhappy monarch raiſed him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear maſter to you." Theſe were ſevere diſtreſſes; however, he could not

not be perſuaded that his adverſaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be diſpatched by private aſſaſſination.

From the ſixth to the twentieth of January, was ſpent in making preparations for his extraordinary trial. The court of juſtice conſiſted of a hundred and thirty-three perſons named by the commons; but of theſe never above ſeventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly compoſed of the chief officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, together with ſome of the lower houſe, and a few citizens of London. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident; Coke was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England; Dorillaus, Steele, and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall.

The king was now conducted from Windſor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high-court to take his trial. While the crier was calling over the names of the commiſſioners for trying him, no body anſwering for lord Fairfax, a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than "to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of the people of England, the ſame voice exclaimed, "No, nor a tenth part "of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from whence the voice proceeded, it was diſcovered that theſe bold anſwers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a priſoner, and now produced as a criminal,

minal, he ſtill ſuſtained the dignity of a king; he ſurveyed the members of the court with an intrepid haughty air; and, without moving his hat, ſat down, while the members alſo were covered. His charge was then read by the ſolicitor, accuſing him of having been the cauſe of all the bloodſhed which followed ſince the commencement of the war; at that part of the charge he could not ſuppreſs a ſmile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finiſhed, Bradſhaw directed his diſcourſe to the king, and told him that the court expected his anſwer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He repreſented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he expected a different treatment from that he now received. He perceived, he ſaid, no appearance of an upper houſe, which was neceſſary to conſtitute a juſt tribunal. That he was himſelf the king and fountain of law; and conſequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his aſſent; that having been intruſted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognizing a power founded in uſurpation; that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he muſt decline any apology for his innocence, leſt he ſhould be conſidered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for the conſtitution.

Bradſhaw, in order to ſupport the authority of the court, inſiſted that they had received their power from the people, the ſource of all right.

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He preſſed the priſoner not to decline the authority of the court, that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted and overruled the king in his attempts to reply.

In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often perſiſted in declining its juriſdiction. The fourth and laſt time he was brought before this ſelf-created court, as he was proceeding thither he was inſulted by the ſoldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Juſtice! juſtice! execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted His judges having now examined ſome witneſſes, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms againſt the forces commiſſioned by parliament, they pronounced ſentence againſt him. He ſeemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houſes, and it was ſuppoſed that he intended to reſign the crown to his ſon; but the court refuſed compliance, and conſidered his requeſt as an artifice to delay juſtice.

The conduct of the king under all theſe inſtances of low-bred malice was great, firm, and equal; in going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the ſoldiers and rabble were again inſtigated to cry out juſtice and execution. They reviled him with the moſt bitter reproaches. Among other inſults, one miſcreant preſumed to ſpit in the face of his ſovereign. He patiently bore [illegible] inſolence. "Poor ſouls, cried he, they would treat their generals in the ſame manner for ſix-pence." Thoſe of the populace, who ſtill retained the feelings of humanity, expreſſed their ſorrow in ſighs and tears. A ſoldier, more compaſſionate than the reſt, could not help

help imploring a bleſſing upon his royal head. An officer overhearing him, ſtruck the honeſt centinel to the ground before the king, who could not help ſaying, that the puniſhment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he deſired the permiſſion of the houſe to ſee his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late biſhop of London. Theſe requeſts were granted, and alſo three days to prepare for the execution of the ſentence. All that remained of his family now in England were the princeſs Elizabeth, and the duke of Glouceſter, a child of about three years of age. After many ſeaſonable and ſenſible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little ſon in his arms, and embracing him, "My child, ſaid he, they will cut off thy "father's head, yes they will cut off my head, "and make thee a king. But mark what I ſay; "thou muſt not be a king as long as thy bro-"thers Charles and James are alive. They will "cut off their heads when they can take them, "and thy head too they will cut off at laſt, and "therefore I charge thee do not be made a king "by them." The child, burſting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces firſt."

Every night during the interval between his ſentence and execution, the king ſlept ſound as uſual, though the noiſe of the workmen, employed in framing the ſcaffold, continually reſounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at laſt arrived, he roſe early, and calling one of his attendants, he bad him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity. The ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined for his execu-

execution; for it was intended that this ſhould increaſe the ſeverity of his puniſhment. He was led through the Banqueting Houſe to the ſcaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and ſervant biſhop Juxon, a man endowed with the ſame mild and ſteady virtues with his maſter. The ſcaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of ſoldiers under the command of colonel Tomlinſon, and on it were to be ſeen the block, the axe, and two executioners in maſques. The people in great crowds ſtood at a greater diſtance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king ſurveyed all theſe ſolemn preparations with calm compoſure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a diſtance, he addreſſed himſelf to the few perſons who ſtood round him. He there juſtified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and obſerved, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had ſhown him the example; that he had no other object in his warlike preparations than to preſerve that authority entire, which had been tranſmitted to him by his anceſtors; but, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was juſtly puniſhed for having conſented to the execution of an unjuſt ſentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his ſon as his ſucceſſor, and ſignified his attachment to the proteſtant religion as profeſſed in the church of England. So ſtrong was the impreſſion his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinſon himſelf,

to

to whoſe care he had been committed, acknowledged himſelf a convert.

While he was preparing himſelf for the block, biſhop Juxon called out to him: "There is, "ſir, but one ſtage more, which, though tur- "bulent and troubleſome, is yet a very ſhort "one. It will ſoon carry you a great way: "it will carry you from earth to heaven; and "there you ſhall find, to your great joy, "the prize to which you haſten, a crown of "glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a "corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where "no diſturbance can have place." "You ex- "change," replied the biſhop, "a temporal for an "eternal crown, a good exchange." Charles having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Re- "member." Then he laid his neck on the block, and ſtretching out his hands as a ſignal, one of the executioners ſevered his head from his body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor!" The ſpectators teſtified their horror at that ſad ſpectacle in ſighs, tears, and lamentations; the tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himſelf either with active diſloyalty to his king, or a paſſive compliance with his deſtroyers. The very pulpits, that uſed to reſound with inſolence and ſedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all united in their deteſtation of thoſe dark hypocrites, who, to ſatisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treaſon.

Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling ſtature, robuſt, and well proportioned. His viſage was pleaſing, but me- Jan. 30. 1649.

lancholy; and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impreſſion on his countenance. As for his character, the reader will deduce it with more preciſion and ſatisfaction to himſelf from the detail of his conduct, than from any ſummary given of it by the hiſtorian. It will ſuffice to ſay, that all his faults ſeem to have ariſen from the error of his education; while all his virtues, and he poſſeſſed many, were the genuine offspring of his heart. He lived at a time when the ſpirit of the conſtitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, inſtead of accommodating himſelf to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down, as he ſunk, the conſtitution in ruins round him. Many kings before him expired by treaſons or aſſaſſinations; but never ſince the times of Agis the Lacedæmonian, was there any other ſacrificed by his ſubjects with all the formalities of juſtice. Many were the miſeries ſuſtained by the nation in bringing this monarch to the block; and more were yet to be endured previous to the ſettlement of the conſtitution, yet theſe ſtruggles in the end were productive of domeſtic happineſs and ſecurity, the laws became more preciſe, the monarch's privileges better aſcertained, and the ſubject's duty better delineated; all became more peaceable, as if a previous fermentation in the conſtitution was neceſſary for its ſubſequent refinement.

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